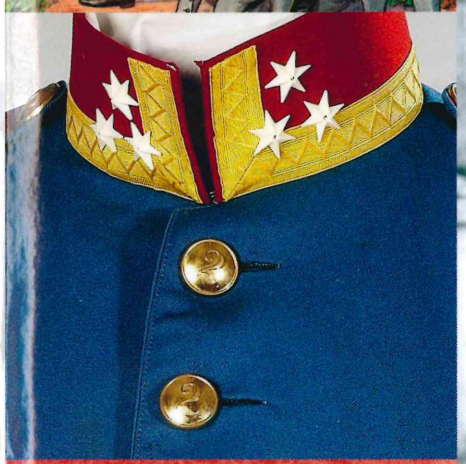
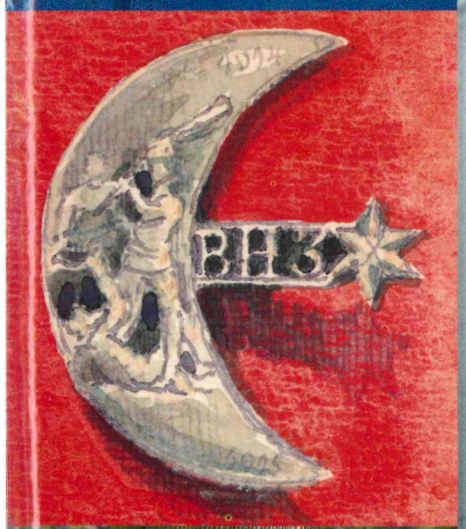
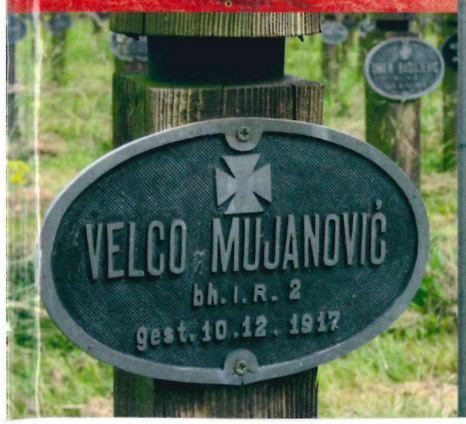
Christoph Neumayer (Ed.), Erwin A. Schmidl (Ed.), Hermann Hinterstoisser, Helmut Wohnout

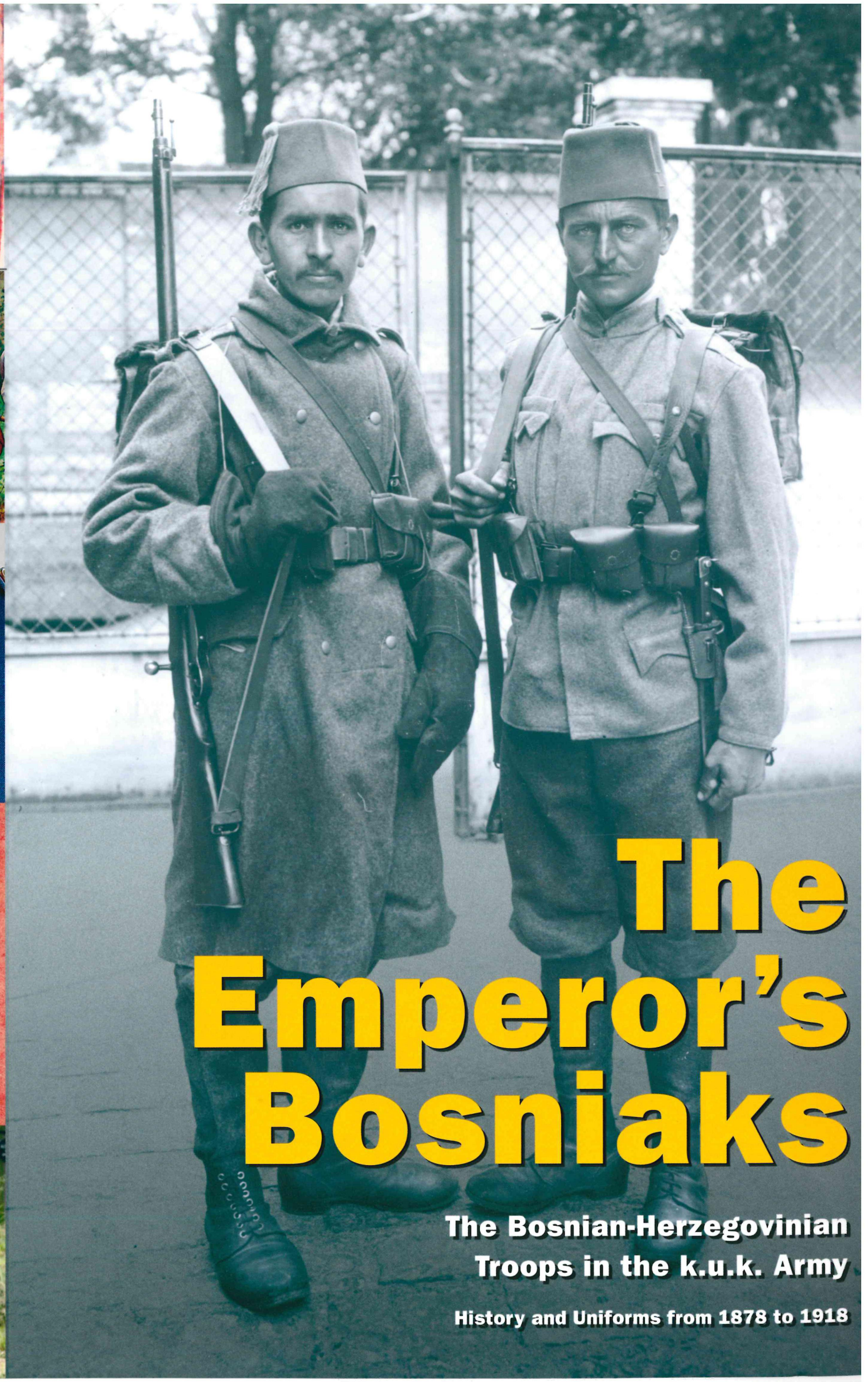
The Emperor's Bosniaks

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops in the k.u.k. Army – History and Uniforms from 1878 to 1918









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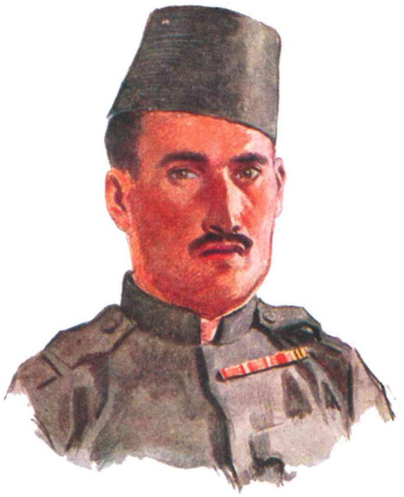

Edited by
Christoph Neumayer and **Erwin A. Schmidl**

With contributions by
Hermann Hinterstoisser and **Helmut Wohnout**

The Emperor's Bosniaks

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops in the k.u.k. Army

History and Uniforms – 1878 to 1918

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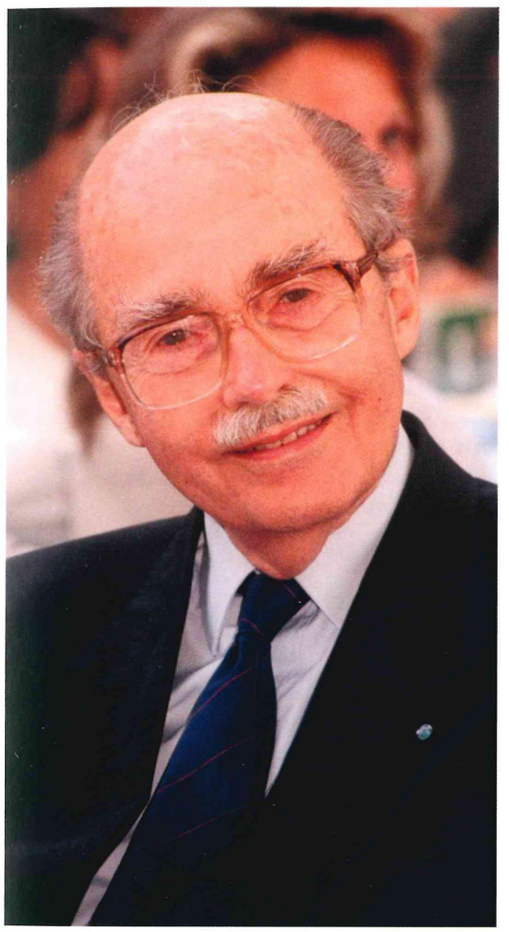
A Few Words



The history of Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of the multi-national Austro-Hungarian Empire is hardly known in today's Austria. Which makes it all the more pleasing that these young historians have taken the Jubilee Year 2008 as a reason to compile this beautifully illustrated edition dealing with Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in particular with its role in the army, during the period between 1878 and 1914 when it belonged to Austria.

The Balkans were seen for a long time as a 'powder keg', which was certainly true. For many years these southern European countries were under Ottoman rule and in regions like Bosnia and parts of Albania many people had adopted the Muslim faith. A European Islam had emerged.

When the Ottoman Empire began to weaken, Russia in particular endeavoured to expand its position in the region and realise its imperialistic dream of access to the Mediterranean. The Austrian annexation was, among other things, an attempt to avert this. Looking at the situation from today's point of view, the period between 1878 and the First World War was one of stability and prosperity for Bosnia-Herzegovina and a time of peaceful co-existence for the diverse ethnic and religious communities.

Sarajevo, and indeed the troops of Bosnia-Herzegovina at that time, was surely the best example of living multiculturalism. The goal was not some kind of 'melting pot of nations' (so often used to describe the U.S.A.), not the romanticising of one culture or another and not a loss of identity based on a false sense of tolerance, but the chance for individuals and ethnic groups to live in their identities. Just as the Christian soldiers had field pastors, the Muslim Bosnian soldiers had military Imams in the field. That they were all loyal to the State and to the Emperor went without saying. The 'Bosniaks' were not only some of the most feared men in the k.u.k. Army, they were also among the most loyal troops in this multicultural empire.

A beautifully illustrated historical book like this one is not just reminiscence, a reminder of the 'good old days', it is an appeal to review today's politics. For almost a decade, from the brief war in Slovenia, through the partial occupation of Croatia and the gruesome war in Bosnia, to the most recent 'Battle of Kosovo Field' in 1999, a nationalistic war held the region in its grip. It was the same nationalism that killed the lights in Europe in 1914 with a few shots and the murder of the Austrian heir to the throne and his wife.

We are living in a time of European unity, which would not be possible without historical understanding. There is an urgent need to rise to the challenge of learning from our history, and not only with regard to South-eastern Europe. Bosnia though does show us the diversity of challenges to be faced in the region and throughout Europe in the future.

Bosnia-Herzegovina's history also shows up a European geographical dimension. Before 1918 it was possible to board a train in Sarajevo and travel to Vienna without problems. Today there is a so-called 'Schengen border' to be crossed, which involves money and red tape. Anyone who has spent time on both sides of this border knows that the bureaucratic need for a visa is seen quite differently from the East than it is from an EU standpoint. Our common history is still very much alive in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The publisher and authors of this book have gathered a large body of data and stories that can be an example to us for the future, so that we can not only inherit a great past but also become the ancestors of a European future.

Dr. Otto von Habsburg
Pöcking, Autumn 2008

Foreword

Today, 90 years after the end of the First World War, if we look at the k.u.k. Army that was being disbanded on the various fronts during October and November of 1918, no one can deny that with this army, a whole institution came to an end; an institution, which, despite the national currents that began to threaten its structure in the last two years of the war, had surely been a model of supra-nationality. The many nations within the Austro-Hungarian Empire that answered the call to arms in 1914 brought with them a multitude of backgrounds, religions and languages and yet they all stood loyally by their Emperor until the moment the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved.

The troops from Bosnia-Herzegovina are a shining example of the integrative power of the k.u.k. Army. The occupation of this region by Austro-Hungarian troops, brought about by a resolution of the Berlin Congress in 1878, brought a colourful ethnic mix under Austro-Hungarian jurisdiction. This was not seen by all the empire's crown lands as a positive development, firstly, because the occupation campaign turned out to be much more difficult and the losses far heavier than expected; secondly, because cases of unbelievable brutality from the local soldiers, known at the time as 'insurgents', were reported. On top of this, creating a new administration for Bosnia-Herzegovina was a great financial burden for all the crown lands as large areas still belonged to the Ottoman Empire and lacked the necessary organisational infrastructure and administrative bodies. Nonetheless, it soon became clear that the population was quite prepared to accept an Austro-Hungarian administration based on modern principles.

With regard to the military situation, it was not at first clear if the military potential of the new crown land could be utilised, and if so, how. On the one hand, during the occupation campaign, the Bosnian troops had been admired for their courage, their fortitude and not least their perseverance, but on the other hand, in military circles it was much debated whether troops from Bosnia or Herzegovina could be seen as reliable. Nevertheless, from the 1880s on, successive independent Bosnian-Herzegovinian units were formed within the k.u.k. Army until by the outbreak of the First World War they counted four regiments and one field *Jäger* battalion.

The appearance of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops was quite different to that of the troops provided by other crown lands. The red fez, which was regulation wear for all Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops, even those who were not Muslims, was a concession to the cultural background of the soldiers. There were also legal differences, such as the fact that there was no national 'Landwehr' in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Instead, the soldiers served a full 12 years in the k.u.k. Army. The recruiting figures were also higher than in other crown lands as it was felt that, given the expense of developing and modernising the infrastructure, enlisting large numbers of men from the local population was opportune.

During the First World War the 'Bosniaks' received much recognition on all fronts and, judging by the statistics regarding bravery medals, were some of the most courageous men in the old army. Whether they fought in the north-eastern war arena against Russia, in the Balkans against Serbia and Montenegro or on the south-western front against Italy, wherever a red fez was spotted in the Austrian lines, it struck fear in the hearts of the enemy. The 'Bosniaks' had a reputation for a fighting style that Austrian soldiers had experienced themselves in 1878.

With a total population of around 2 million, Bosnia-Herzegovina provided the Austro-Hungarian army with about 200,000 soldiers. Many of them never returned but were left on the many battlefields of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Dr. M. Christian Ortner
Director of the
Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Wien

Introduction

'Bygone Bosnia' was the name of a book with photographs taken by an Austro-Hungarian officer in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1907/08. Why bygone? For a long time it might really have seemed as if the memory of Bosnia, the region occupied by Austria-Hungary in 1878 and then annexed in 1908, were 'bygone', as it was confined to occasional mentions in memoirs or contemporary novels.

After the end of the monarchy, the country in which the first shots of the First World War were fired during the assassination of the heir to the throne and his wife was almost forgotten for a long time as the 'poorhouse of Yugoslavia'. In the Second World War it was the scene of savage fighting and in 1944/45 in a certain way became the germ cell of the 'new' Yugoslavia under Josip Broz Tito, who had once been a sergeant in the Austro-Hungarian army.

It was only during the disintegration of Yugoslavia, when the conflicts between Pan-Serbian and Pan-Croatian ambitions also encroached on the Yugoslav constituent republic of Bosnia after 1992, that the memory of the 'Kakanian' era of the country was revived and acquired an additional dimension by virtue of the reports on atrocities. Although the fighting came to an end in 1995 – after countless massacres and instances of 'ethnic cleansing', of which Srebrenica was the best-known, but not the only incident – and the country has since undergone a positive development as a protectorate, so to speak , of the international community, Bosnia-Herzegovina continues to be one of the crisis regions of the world. A certain level of military presence, first under the aegis of NATO, then under that of the EU, remains necessary for the prosperous development of the country. In the very light of many stereotyped views that 'things were always that way in the Balkans', it is important to remember that there were times of war in South-eastern Europe, like everywhere else in the world, when neighbours barbarously killed one another because of their religious or political affiliations, but that the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina has equally been characterized by long periods of peace with the co-existence of the different ethnic groups. After all, there are more points in common than of difference between the three Bosnian population groups, the Orthodox Serbs, the Catholic Croats and the Muslim 'Bosniaks', and religion, which was then so cruelly abused for the purposes of identification, was not really a motive for conflict because of the religious indifference prevalent in Communist Yugoslavia. As István Deák, one of the most eminent experts on the history of Central Europe and a professor at New York's Columbia University, once appositely worded it, in Bosnia it was less one's own religion than that of one's grandfathers that was exploited in the fighting and massacres of the 1990s.

Let a few remarks be made on language. Apart from in quotations, this book will use the spelling 'Bosnia-Herzegovina', although the version 'Bosnia-Hercegovina' was more common during the Austro-Hungarian era. Occasionally, other spellings have also been carefully modernized, for reasons of better understanding, e.g. 'Banja Luka' instead of the older form, 'Banjaluka'. On another point we deliberately follow the traditional form, i.e. with the word 'Bosniak'. Although the term has increasingly been used since the 1990s as a designation for Muslim Bosnians alone – entering the English language from Bosnian – we here follow the tradition of the monarchy, when all Bosnians were understood by the word, and in particular the members of the infantry regiments and *Jäger* battalions recruited in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to whom this book is dedicated. The Austro-Hungarian 'Bosniaks' had a reputation for being particularly courageous and reliable soldiers, who, however, did not always shrink from committing barbarities. All love of nostalgia notwithstanding, one must be aware that many accounts by contemporaries and later authors were more characterized by racist images and prejudices that may have been known to many of them.

This book will give an overview of these 'Bosniaks' from the background of the occupation in 1878 over the period of annexation (1908) to the end of the monarchy. It will give a survey of the formation of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry and *Jäger* units and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian gendarmerie, including their employment in the Great War of 1914-18, and of their uniforms, equipment and weapons.

The authors of the individual sections are specialists who have dealt with the subject for years on the basis of reliable sources. Hence, the chapters of this book follow on from the previously published books of this series. For the reader the book may be, on the one hand, a reminder of the age when – to alter the well-known song – 'Bosnia was still part of Austria', on the other – and perhaps more important – it may be an invitation to visit a country that has a particularly attractive landscape and, despite the war that came to an end one and a half decades ago, evinces a remarkable European culture.

At this point the editors would like to express some words of gratitude, first to all the archivists, librarians and colleagues who helped with words and deeds during the work on this project. There are too many of them to name them all, but at any rate we would like to mention *Ministerialrat* Dr. Helmut Wohnout and Professor Dipl.-Ing. Hermann Hinterstoisser, who have contributed two sections to this book, as well as Dr. Tamara Scheer, Mag. Anja Seipenbusch, Mag. Johann Bartl and Dr. Felix Schneider, who gave their energetic support. As editor, Dr. Sabine Perthold provided valuable suggestions and Ian Mansfield was in particularly competent charge of the English edition. We would like to express our special gratitude to Stefan Rest, on whose initiative and with whose commitment this book only became possible, as well as to the staff of his publishing house. Last, but not least, we would like, of course, to thank our families for their moral support, help and, above all, patience, without which this study could never have been completed.

Christoph Neumayer **Erwin A. Schmidl**
Vienna, Autumn 2008

The Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878

The Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878

by Helmut Wohnout

In 1878 the Congress of Berlin authorized Austria-Hungary to put the two Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina under its administration. The occupation of these areas was the last completed and successful campaign of the Habsburg army that extended the territory of the monarchy.

From the very outset the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina was controversial in the Dual Monarchy. Contrary to expectations on the part of the political elite, Austro-Hungarian troops were by no means greeted peacefully, let alone as 'liberators'. Military resistance was much greater than expected. Additional troop contingents were necessary so as to be able to conclude the campaign successfully before the onset of winter. For Bosnia and Herzegovina, Habsburg rule meant enormous progress in some spheres, especially as regards the administration and the school system and the expansion of the infrastructure. It meant so to speak joining the Modern Age in Europe, albeit simultaneously anticipating its political trends, chiefly nationalism.

In the eyes of the k.u.k. Foreign Minister Gyula Count Andrássy (1823-1890) the occupation was his '*great strategic coup*'.[1] By retaining Turkish sovereignty – the provinces were only 'occupied' and formally remained parts of the Ottoman Empire – Andrássy thought he had appeased the Turks, but made allowance for Franz Joseph's dynastic interests. As regards the unstable equilibrium of forces within the monarchy, he also believed he had found a viable course, as the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina took place against the fierce resistance of the Liberals in the Austrian and Hungarian halves of the empire. In the 'Cisleithanian', or Austrian part of the monarchy, the occupation even put an end to the short period of Liberal German governments.[2] Finally, at the end of 1879 Andrássy himself resigned.

Austria-Hungary's Foreign Political and Military Plans

Austrian interest in the territory of Bosnia goes back to the Turkish Wars of the 17th and 18th centuries, as it forms, as it were, a 'bastion' of the Ottoman Empire projecting far into the north-west.[3] On the Austrian side it was surrounded by the 'military frontier'. Since the 16th century, partly by settling Christians who had fled from the Turks as soldier-farmers with a special charter, a military cordon had emerged there which provided particularly reliable troops to the Austrian army.[4] But attempts to occupy Bosnia in the 18th century failed. It was only in the second half of the 19th century that the area returned to the Austrian field of vision.

The background was formed by the setbacks Austria had suffered in the campaigns against France and emergent Italy in 1859 and against Prussia in 1866. With the loss of Lombardy and Venetia, on the one hand, and the expulsion of Austria from the German Confederation and finally with the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, on the other, Italy and Germany had definitively and irrevocably left the sphere of influence of the Habsburg Monarchy. The necessary reorientation of Austro-Hungarian foreign policy led to new geopolitical priorities, which had to lie in south-eastern Europe for lack of any other alternatives.

Thus, in the 1870s the Balkans moved into the focus of the diplomatic activity of the Danube Monarchy. But aspirations to the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were only linked to the Ottoman Empire through the narrow corridor of Sandžak Novi Pazar since the practical independence of Serbia and Montenegro, had been voiced earlier, particularly by the army. Even during the Crimean War of 1854-1856 Austria had endeavoured to obtain French consent to occupying the two provinces. In 1856, the aged *Feldmarschall* Joseph Wenzel Graf Radetzky von Radetz (1766-1858) advocated at least a partial conquest, as did *Admiral* Wilhelm von Tegetthoff (1827-1871) ten years later.[5]

After the defeat at Sadowa in 1866, an expansion south-east seemed particularly important, but met resistance from Russia, which acted as the protector of the Christian Balkan nations. It was only possible to implement these plans once Austria had brought about a rapprochement with the young German Empire. Prime Minister Friedrich Graf Beust (1809-1886) had initiated this reorientation of Austrian foreign policy after a period of hostility to Prussian ambitions after 1866. He already described the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as desirable in a memorandum of May 1871. Due to the loss of Venetia in 1866, the Dalmatian coast adjoining Trieste and Istria was the monarchy's only access to the sea. But the Dalmatian coastland was interrupted by two Turkish enclaves and thus only accessible from the sea for long stretches. Thus, Bosnia and Herzegovina formed the natural hinterland to maintain Austro-Hungarian influence on the Adriatic. Senior military commanders constantly stressed the geopolitical and strategic value of the two provinces as the backbone of Dalmatia.

Emperor Franz Joseph (1830-1916) in

Austria's and Austria-Hungary's territorial development in the 19th and 20th centuries. After the setbacks and territorial losses in northern Italy and the defeat against Prussia in 1866 the Habsburg Monarchy turned to the Balkans. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be the last territorial acquisitions.

particular desired to win Bosnia and Herzegovina for his empire. In his dynastic and imperial conception of his rule he wanted to compensate for the territorial losses in Italy by gains in the south-east of the empire. Nevertheless, the lost territories in northern Italy could not be compared with Bosnia-Herzegovina. Whereas Lombardy and Venetia were highly developed and industrialized central regions of Europe, Bosnia and Herzegovina, mountainous and hardly accessible by roads, were considered the underdeveloped backwaters of the Balkans. Bismarck had once spoken pejoratively about Herzegovina as the '*country of Balkan sheep and horse thieves*'.[6]

Whereas senior military commanders, the sovereign himself and Slav politicians advocated expansion to the south-east, its opponents were to be found mainly among the German Liberals of the Cisleithanian half of the empire, but also among leading Hungarian politicians. During his office as Hungarian prime minister (1867–1871) Gyula Count Andrássy had also been an opponent of annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. He saw the danger of increasing the Slav element in the Dual Monarchy. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire, an important adversary of Czarist Russia with its Pan-Slavic ambitions, was not to be weakened. Sometimes the hope was expressed that Serbia could be tied permanently and closely to the monarchy by leaving Bosnia to it.

After 1871 Andrássy became the Foreign Minister of the Dual Monarchy – the Ministry of the k.u.k. Dynasty and Foreign Affairs, as it was officially called, was one of the three common ministries of the monarchy, apart from the War Ministry and the Finance Ministry. However, as the foreign minister he saw himself induced to harmonize his ideas of foreign policy in

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The k.u.k. Foreign Minister – one of the three common ministers of the Dual Monarchy – Gyula Count Andrássy (left) was one of the most important advocates of the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Artur Maximilian Graf Bylandt-Rheidt was War Minister after 1876 (right).

the south-east with the monarch's aims, especially as Franz Joseph reserved the final decision in foreign policy issues on the Balkans for himself. The Emperor's most important advisory body consisted of the 'secret military and political conferences', at which it was intended better to co-ordinate military and political action after the painful experiences of the past.[7] At the conference on 29 January 1875, in which, apart from the Emperor, Andrássy and the senior military commanders took part, but, significantly, not the prime ministers of the two halves of the empire, Andrássy enacted several possible crisis scenarios on the Balkans.[8] He considered the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a generally desirable objective for the monarchy, but he did not pin himself down to a specific strategy or the future demarcation of the border. At any rate, Andrássy wanted to avoid creating the impression of an open war of conquest. For Andrássy, active military intervention came into question particularly in the event that Turkey was not in a position to retain the two provinces on its own and that, subsequently, an occupation might be expected by the two neighbouring principalities of Serbia and Montenegro. He was quite willing to allow Serbia and Montenegro to share in a possible partition of the region, as long as Austria-Hungary would receive the largest portion. But under no circumstances did he want to achieve the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the course of a barter deal with Russia that would enable the Czardom to continue to expand its influence on the Balkans.

One of the outcomes of the conference in January 1875 was that Emperor Franz Joseph ordered mobilization plans to be drawn up and additional general staff officers to be attached to the Austro-Hungarian consulates in Bosnia in order to reconnoitre the situation in the two provinces. In summary, it can be stated that at the beginning of 1875 there was a basic consensus between the senior military and political decision-makers on annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina to the monarchy under certain conditions. But there were still differing appraisals of

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For Emperor Franz Joseph (left) the gain of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a way represented compensation for the Italian possessions lost in 1859 and 1866. His most important military advisor was the head of the Military Cabinet (and later chief of the general staff) Friedrich von Beck (right).

when and under what circumstances this was to occur.[9]

The army now began to plan the occupation of the two provinces. The prime mover was the head of the Emperor's Military Cabinet, the later chief of the general staff *Generalmajor* Friedrich von Beck (1830-1920), who even then exerted influence going far beyond his true office (in the vernacular people sometimes spoke about the 'Vice-Emperor'). Due to his familiarity with the monarch Beck's influence was even greater than that of the respective war ministers. From mid-1876 on (and for about twelve years) Artur Maximilian Graf Bylandt-Rheidt (1831-1891) was the head of the War Ministry, an experienced artillery officer and technician, who had earned special merit for the reorganization of the army. An important role was also played by the military commanders in the border provinces, the general officer commanding in Agram (Zagreb), *Feldzeugmeister* Anton Freiherr Mollinary von Monte Pastello (1820-1904) and the head of the military and civilian administration in Dalmatia, *Feldzeugmeister* Gabriel Freiherr von Rodich (1812-1890).[10] Both were of South Slavic origin and vehemently advocated incorporating Bosnia and Herzegovina in the monarchy.

On the other hand, the governments of the two halves of the empire were resolute opponents of any occupation or annexation and, although they largely remained excluded from the decision-making process, at least Andrássy had to take them into account. Thus, the foreign minister stood in the centre of a field of tension between supporters and opponents of any expansionist policy. In addition, he had to consider the international implications, of course.[11] That he was only partly successful in this respect is hardly surprising. But the result was the heterogeneous and ambivalent picture of Austrian foreign policy that first affected Franz Joseph's journey to Dalmatia in spring 1875 and that lacked the nationalist political dynamism that would have been necessary to win over the hearts of the Christian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina for annexation to the monarchy.

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At the time of the Dalmatian Uprising in 1869 the introduction of the new field uniform had not yet been completed; sufficient winter clothing was also missing. For this reason the soldiers of Infantry Regiment No. 7 like the *Feldwebel* (left) wore the old white tunic (with a folding-down collar) as an additional outer garment. The new dark-blue field blouse with a narrow stand-up collar, as seen on *Oberleutnant* Carl Gennotte (centre) and *Oberst* Emerich Kaiffel (right), then became the item of uniform characteristic of the k.u.k. army. In 1869 Kaiffel was commander of Infantry Regiment No. 7 and during the occupation campaign of 1878 led first the 39th Infantry Brigade and then the 20th Infantry Division.

The Rebellion in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875

Whereas Andrássy himself avoided deliberately provoking a crisis on the Balkans, senior Austro-Hungarian military commanders were already working actively towards launching a military intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first six months of 1875. A rebellion by the Christian population of the two provinces was to act as a pretext for armed action. Such a rebellion was to be triggered by the Emperor's long-planned visit to Dalmatia, which took place in April and May 1875 on the suggestion of Beck and Rodich, but against the express wishes of the foreign minister. Franz Joseph not only visited the most important towns along the Dalmatian coast, but also received delegations of the Catholic population of Herzegovina and met Prince Nicholas (Nikola I) of Montenegro (1841-1921) in Cattaro (Kotor). This was not least a signal to those sections of the population in southern Dalmatia, especially around the Bay of Cattaro (Kotor), who had rebelled in October 1869 because of recruitment for the Landwehr. The rebels, who had also been supported by Montenegro, had only been prepared to surrender after a two-month campaign (officially termed an 'expedition') and being granted an amnesty and certain privileges. Rodich earned the merit of having quickly ended the rebellion with his cool-headed leadership of the operation and skilful negotiations. But attempts by Beck to negotiate co-operation in the occupation of Bosnia during these talks with Prince Nicholas remained without any concrete results.[12] However, the Emperor's visit probably did not have a direct effect on the out-

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Three photographs of officers taken during operations against the rebels in the region of the Bay of Cattaro (Kotor) in winter 1869/70. The blue blouse was very short, but tailored wider than later and the breast pockets were placed at an angle. Officers liked wearing the comfortable, light-blue 'bivouac cap' in the field instead of the stiff cap. *Leutnant* Arthur Freiherr von und zu Söll (left), Senior *Hauptmann* Franz Morocutti (centre, with his batman) and *Oberleutnant* Matthias Zitterer (right) were all members of Infantry Regiment No. 7. The pictures were taken by Antonio Jellasca, who had studios in Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Cattaro (Kotor). Such studio photographs were very popular at the time.

break of the rebellion at the beginning of July 1875, first in Herzegovina and then in Bosnia. In fact, it was a spontaneous uprising by the Christian peasants against the unbearably increased tithe and other tax burdens.[13] The direct cause was provided by the increase in rents carried out despite a preceding crop failure and the brutality of rent collection. Like everywhere else in the Balkans, the Ottoman administration in Bosnia-Herzegovina worked as a 'tribute system'. The administration only interfered in the everyday lives of the population when taxes and levies did not flow to the desired degree.[14]

The first phase of the rebellion already ended in early spring 1875 with the total defeat of the peasants. The originally agrarian aims of the revolt were now replaced by a nationalistically influenced bourgeois uprising, in which Bosnian merchants played the key role. Their interests only coincided with those of the peasants to the extent that they hoped the emancipation of the peasants would provide them with a larger and more receptive market as the basis for their own economic advancement. It was only at this juncture and with the support of deliberate agitation by Serbian and Montenegrin agents[15] that union with Serbia became one of the objectives of the rebellion.[16] It rapidly cast its spell over the whole South Slavic region and triggered off a series of armed uprisings in the Turkish areas of the Balkans. The uprising developed into the Serbian and Montenegrin war of liberation against the Turks, which was subsequently joined by Bulgaria, Greece and Romania and was finally to lead to Russian intervention.

Although the Austrian military leadership had intimated to the Christians the support of the monarchy for the event of a rebellion through Franz Joseph's visit to Dalmatia, the actual reaction of Austrian foreign policy was different. In accordance with his foreign policy doctrine of the 'providential utility'[17] of Turkey for Austria-Hungary and in terms of the European balance of power, Andrássy saw no reason to supplant Turkish rule, as long as it had the situation reasonably under control and there was no danger of a Serbo-Montenegrin intervention. Hence, Austria-Hungary officially remained reserved and neutral to the rebellion. Nonetheless, from the outset the uprising enjoyed great popularity in the Croatian border areas and many South Slavs in the Danube Monarchy dreamed of uniting Bosnia and Herzegovina with Croatia. The Croatian *Sabor* (provincial diet) had to be put under pressure by Vienna to prevent open assistance for the uprising, but local acts of support occurred all the same.[18]

Once more it became evident that Andrássy's Austro-Hungarian foreign policy lacked any nationalist empathy with which it might have been possible to win the hearts and minds of the Christian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina for annexation to the monarchy.

As happened during the events surrounding the later occupation in 1878, Andrássy did not evince a feeling for the dynamism of local occurrences on the occasion of the rebellion. Proceeding from the unfounded conviction that the rebellion against Ottoman rule had only been launched with the hope of support by the monarchy, he believed he could induce the rebels to lay down their arms as soon as they had realized that Austria-Hungary was not behind them. For this reason, at the beginning of August 1875 a joint initiative with the German Empire and Russia had the rebels informed by the consulates that they could not expect aid from the three imperial powers. Otherwise, in this phase Andrássy undertook everything to exclude Russia, which he viewed as the main rival in the Balkans, from any involvement in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian issue.

This was the reason why an occupation of the two provinces was out of the question for him in August 1875. For in this event it would have been necessary either to reach a previous agreement with Russia on compensation or the Czardom would have sought recompense in south-eastern Europe itself. A direct war with the eastern neighbour could not have been completely excluded. Andrássy himself did not really believe in one, but he used it as an argument at the time to convince the advocates of an invasion of Bosnia and Herzegovina of the danger of their plan. The prevention of a further spread of Pan-Slavic trends was his top priority and this is why he did everything to preclude an internationalization of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian rebellion in 1875. By making reference to the flood of Christian peasant refugees pouring over the Austro-Hungarian border since the beginning of the rebellion, which had soon passed the mark of 100,000, he wanted to point out that the monarchy was primarily called upon to take care of the situation in the two neighbouring provinces. Under these auspices the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina had to be deferred, a view with which the Emperor and Beck also concurred.[19]

Andrássy's further initiatives aimed in this direction until mid-1876. By his reform programme of December 1875 he again thought he could end the rebellion under Austro-Hungarian leadership and maintain political stability on the south-east border of the Empire at least for some time.[20]

But here the two main fallacies in Andrássy's policy came fully to the fore. On the one hand, there was Andrássy's mentality, entirely rooted in the conference diplomacy of the 19th century, which only evinced consideration for the politically interested major powers. The foreign minister thought he could use the Balkan countries '*in almost colonial fashion for the purposes of compensation and as bases for imperialist great power politics*', as the Austrian historian Arnold Suppan has worded it.[21] On the other, Vienna had succumbed to a complete misappraisal of the rebellion, whose social and nationalist motives were almost completely ignored.

The escalation of the Balkan crisis in spring 1876 turned the rebellion in Bosnia and Herzegovina into a secondary theatre. At the latest from the juncture of Russia's military intervention on Bulgaria's side in 1877, during which it stood at the gates of the capital Istanbul after defeating the Turkish army, Austria-Hungary's Eastern policy had to develop new strategies taking the internationalization of the conflict into account. It would go beyond the scope of this essay to continue to pursue diplomatic and political developments until the Congress of Berlin. But let the following be said about the relationship of the monarchy to the rebellion in the two neighbouring provinces. With the dynamism of events the willingness also grew to relinquish the initially observant stance with a tendency to maintain the status quo in favour of expansionism. In the course of the Serbo-Turkish War of 1876 Austrian liaison officers were dispatched to Bosnia to woo mainly Catholics and Muslims away from Serbia and to Austria.[22] The main contact points were the Catholic monasteries in Bosnia and influential Catholic clergy. But among the rebels and in the revolutionary committees there were only individual supporters of union with Austria-Hungary. The Pan-Slavic idea of union with Serbia prevailed among the majority of Orthodox rebels anyway. Moreover, Austrian agitation was discontinued on Andrássy's orders as soon as the defeat of the Serbian army by the Turks was becoming clear and Ottoman rule seemed safeguarded for the time being. Now the uprising became politically undesirable once more and the Austrian border authorities were again ordered to take action against the formation of rebel units on Austro-Hungarian soil.

Thus, it is hardly surprising that among the Christian population of Bosnia the desire for union with the Habsburg Monarchy only prevailed among the Catholic minority, numbering around 220,000 (18 % of the total population), whilst the 500,000 Serbian Orthodox Christians (43 %) tended to view Serbia as their protector and, in addition, regarded Austria-Hungary with more than scepticism after their experiences during the rebellion.[23] Armed resistance to the occupation in 1878 was mainly offered by the Muslim upper class in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The total of 450,000 Muslims amounted to not quite 39 % of the population.

The territorial developments in south-eastern Europe from 1815 to 1914. After the end of the 18th century the once so powerful Ottoman Empire turned into the 'sick man on the Bosporus'. Greece won its independence in 1821-1830. The Danube Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (= Romania) and Bulgaria gradually became autonomous principalities under Ottoman sovereignty after 1815 and then independent. During the Balkan Wars of 1912/13 Turkey finally lost the remainder of its territory in south-east Europe.

The Military Occupation and the Political Conditions

Occasioned by the further political and military course of the Balkan crisis in the years 1876 to 1878, a seizure of the two provinces by Austria-Hungary that was recognized by the major powers seemed to be within reach. In Reichstadt in 1876 the monarchy came to an agreement on this with Russia, which would have received southern Bessarabia in return. But the victory of the Christian Balkan nations over the Ottoman Empire, which would have been the prerequisite, did not occur and the agreement became obsolete with Russia's military intervention. The Russian intervention of 1877/78 inflicted severe defeats on the Turkish forces and the Treaty of San Stefano provided for the emergence of a large Bulgarian Empire. But this would have involved an enormous increase in Russian influence in south-eastern Europe, something the other European powers did not desire

at all. For this reason, the Congress of Berlin was convened to replace the peace terms of San Stefano, which had been unilaterally dictated by Russia, by a balanced and permanent settlement of the Eastern issue by the major powers. There was a considerable agreement of interests mainly between Great Britain and Austria-Hungary. Both powers wanted to prevent a Russian 'protectorate' stretching to the Aegean coast, for then large sections of the Balkans and also of the remaining Ottoman Empire would have fallen into the Russian sphere of influence. The concomitant strengthening of Serbia would also lead to a threat to the Austro-Hungarian Adriatic coast, at least in the medium term. For Andrássy this very scenario meant the need for action in Bosnia-Herzegovina. To prevent the regions from falling into the hands of a non-Turkish Balkan power, it was necessary for the monarchy to seize them and the earlier policy of preserving the 'status quo integrity of the Ottoman Empire' was obsolete.[24]

Thanks to thorough diplomatic preparation it was clear before the meeting dealing with Bosnia and Herzegovina on 28 June 1878 that both territories would be assigned to the Dual Monarchy. After consultation with Andrássy, the official proposal was submitted by the British. So as to facilitate consent by the High Porte, the constitutional form of mere 'occupation' was chosen, nominally maintaining the sovereign rights of the Sultan. But that it really meant the definitive annexation by Austria-Hungary was clear to all the participants in the conference.

In the light of the broad domestic political rejection of acquiring Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was exacerbated by the question as to which of the two halves of the Empire the new territories would be allocated in the event of a definitive annexation, seizure in the form of an occupation did not seem inappropriate to Andrássy.

Nevertheless, the Turkish negotiators did not relinquish the territories without diplomatic resistance. On 11 July 1878, two days before the treaty was signed, Andrássy assured the Turkish delegation that the details of the occupation could be negotiated in bilateral talks after the end of the congress. The Austrian foreign minister believed he would be all the more able to do this because nobody in Berlin had the slightest doubt that the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina would proceed peacefully. Inspired by the atmosphere of the conference, Andrássy even risked stating that the provinces could probably be taken by a military band.[25]

Whereas Emperor Franz Joseph pushed for a quick execution of the occupation, Andrássy had hoped to come to a direct agreement with the Ottoman Empire before the beginning of military operations if possible. Then the invasion would have lost all appearance of a campaign of conquest and would have created a favourable impression on the public at home and abroad as the peaceful incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the monarchy.[26] This seemed to Andrássy positive, not least in view of the political forces in both halves of the Empire that were opposed to the occupation anyway. The foreign minister had received warnings about the situation in the two provinces from the ambassador in Istanbul, Franz Graf Zichy (1811-1900), but he preferred to believe the dispatches of the Austro-Hungarian consuls in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which depicted the ostensibly good mood in the country. For this reason he risked keeping the forces intended for occupation as small as possible so as to be able to invest a large portion of the budget of 60 million gulden, which the delegations had granted for policies in south-eastern Europe in spring 1878, in the organization and administration of the regions. But the military commanders also had illusions about the smooth course of the occupation. But unlike Andrássy and like the Emperor, they pushed for an early beginning of the operation.

For the time being, however, Andrássy's hoped-for quick agreement with Turkey did not appear to be forthcoming in the talks which had been going on since 21 July. On the contrary, the High Porte endeavoured to protract the talks so as to postpone the execution of the occupation for as long as possible. Finally, Andrássy and the military commanders agreed to set the beginning of the invasion for 28 July 1878, although no agreement had been reached with Turkey by this date. The more and more menacing news arriving from Sarajevo on the spread of the Muslim uprising made it seem advisable to delay the beginning of the invasion no further. On 29 July 1878 the first Austro-Hungarian units finally crossed the border. Exactly one month had elapsed since the decision at the Congress of Berlin to assign the two provinces to Austria-Hungary, enough time for the Bosnian Muslims to seize power from the Ottoman authorities and organize armed resistance.

The Organization of Resistance to the Occupation

If it is desired to go into the resistance to the occupation and its causes, it is indispensable to cast a short glance at the Muslim section of the population and its development.[27]

Once the Ottoman Empire had incorporated Bosnia in its sphere of power in 1463 and Herzegovina twenty years later, the majority of the originally Orthodox Bosnian aristocracy decided to convert to Islam so as to be able to retain their estates and privileges. In addition, the aristocratic converts, the *begs*, soon managed to expand their power so much that they themselves retained true authority in their hands and not the Turkish civil servants. This allowed them to dominate the Christian lower class, the *rajah* (= herd), in a classical feudal system. For as tenants these peasants were economically dependent on the *begs* and frequently without legal protection due to their religion. When the Ottoman central administration tentatively began to implement liberal reforms after the first half of the 19th century, they encountered fierce

resistance on the part of conservative Bosnian Muslims time and time again. In every attempt at reform the latter sensed an attack on their rights, against which they were prepared to offer armed resistance.

Thus, the whole of the 19th century in Bosnia was characterized not only by uprisings by the Christian peasants or tenants, who felt pushed to the limits of their subsistence, but also by rebellions of the indigenous Muslim upper class against Ottoman rule, as soon as they saw their privileges threatened. During the rebellion of 1875-1878 such a conservative Muslim anti-reform movement also emerged as soon as the government of the High Porte announced the reform *firman* (= decree) at the beginning of 1876. Sometimes severe disturbances occurred in the towns and gatherings in mosques frequently resulted in spontaneous acts of violence against the Christian population. A new exodus of refugees began. Hatred was directed equally against the Sultan and the Emperor. The authorities were helpless against this turmoil. Milorad Ekmečić correctly identifies the roots of the resistance against Austro-Hungarian forces two years later in the events of 1876.[28]

Another factor must be noted as a precondition for the insurrection. Apart from the self-arming of the Muslims that started in 1876, there were several mobilization waves among the Muslim Bosnians and Herzegovinians after 1875.[29] After the outbreak of the rebellion in Herzegovina volunteers were recruited for the so-called *bashi-bazouks*, i.e. semi-regular units, often under the leadership of dervishes. When the war started against Serbia and Montenegro, in summer 1876, the entire able-bodied population of the two provinces was called up to military service for the first time and, due to the war against Russia, there were further waves of recruitment a year later in 1877. At the beginning of 1878 units formed of Bosnians and Herzegovinians had reached a strength of about 25,000 men.[30] But after the Treaty of San Stefano these formations were not demobilized. On the contrary, the two exposed provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed on increased alert. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were stored in Sarajevo and other garrison towns. This high degree of militarization of the Bosnian Muslims was another root of resistance. In the first months of 1878 the situation was additionally aggravated by the fact that the units stationed in Bosnia and Herzegovina remained without pay and left more and more to their own devices without orders from Istanbul, whilst the most varied armed groups and gangs, including several thousand deserters, roamed the country without the authorities being able to stop them.

Under these external circumstances, in the early summer of 1878 the Ottoman authorities gradually lost state control, while the Muslim section of the population was organizing itself more and more. When the first rumours began to circulate in Sarajevo that Austro-Hungarian forces might move into Bosnia, influential Muslims began to stir up the atmosphere towards resistance. At the beginning of June a popular commission was constituted that presented itself to the High Porte as a responsible body. On 10 June 1878 it formed a people's committee that was prepared to fill the power vacuum left by the paralysis of state bodies. Significantly, the committee already carried out its work in the government district of Sarajevo.[31]

In this situation the Austro-Hungarian foreign ministry committed the grave mistake of allowing the k.u.k. consul general to inform influential Muslims at an early date about the events of the Congress of Berlin and the imminent invasion. Vienna had speculated that these persons, as 'opinion leaders', would favourably dispose the broad mass of the Muslim population to the occupation. Quite the opposite happened. Spontaneous demonstrations occurred. While the people's committee was negotiating with the Turkish civilian administration, agitators and trouble makers roused the population on the streets.[32] Haji Loja was appointed military leader of the rising. His real name was Salih Vilajetović and he owed his authority above all to his *Hajj*, i.e. the fact that he had been a pilgrim to Mecca, and his openly demonstrated brutality. Otherwise, he was an equivocal mercenary type without solid military training. Ultimately, he became the symbol of Bosnian resistance, but on the whole he was more of an obstacle to its preparation.

At the beginning of July 1878 the new military commander Hafiz Pasha, an experienced and recognized officer, arrived in Sarajevo. However, at this time his task of allowing the occupation to take place under orderly circumstances had already become impossible. For there was no relying on the troops under his command any more and the Bosnian units fraternized openly with the insurgent population. The people's committee was declared dissolved, but continued to exist and recruited rebel troops. On 27 July 1878, two days before the invasion by Austro-Hungarian forces, the situation escalated dramatically. In Sarajevo street fighting took place between government troops and rebels supported by deserters, and the latter retained the upper hand. The Turkish governor general and his deputy had to leave the country. A new government was formed. Hafiz Pasha, who had himself been held prisoner for two days, was included as the head of the administration, but held no illusions as to the prospects of resistance and tried, albeit abortively, to prevent a severe bloodbath.

Starting from Sarajevo as the centre, the insurrection rapidly spread to Mostar and the other large towns. Everywhere the rebels took over state control. The fiercest resistance took place in eastern Bosnia, which was largely due to the personality of the mufti of Taslidža (in Sandžak Novi Pazar, today Pljevlja in Montenegro), Mehmed Nureddin Semšikadić (1827-1887), who began to organize the uprising much more systematically than other local rebels.

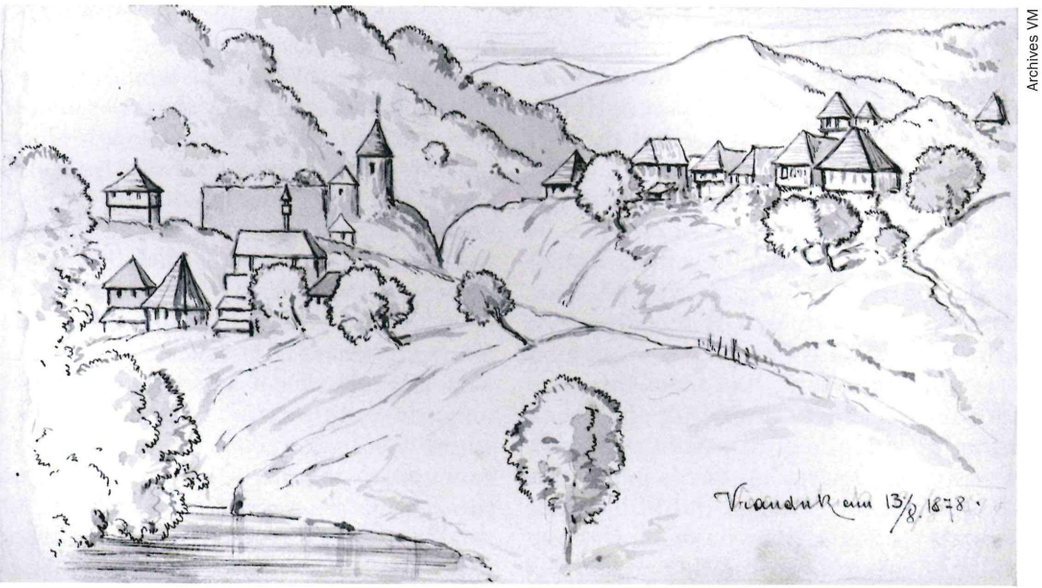
The Fighting in Bosnia

In general, the invasion of Austro-Hungarian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina took place in two spatially separate, but temporally parallel operations. The majority of the Austro-Hungarian forces penetrated into Bosnia from the north, from Croatia, whilst a smaller part of the occupation corps crossed the border from Dalmatia, i.e. from the south, to take possession of Herzegovina. For this reason it seems evident to treat the two campaigns separately. But in preface a few remarks should be made on the operational, strategic and logistical problems caused by the occupation and applying to both operations to the same extent.

The attacking forces had been given the objective of occupying the two provinces, i.e. an area of no less than about 60,000 km², within as short a time as possible.[33] In the process the following problems had to be taken into account. Ground conditions were extremely disadvantageous to the attacker and consisted of mountains with altitudes of up to 2,000 m. Moreover, the Austro-Hungarian army

The operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878. Initially, Bosnia and Herzegovina were only to be occupied by weak forces. However, resistance was stronger than expected. For this reason additional forces had to be sent as reinforcements. The campaign proceeded in two phases (from the end of July until mid-August and in September). It was only in 1879 that k.u.k. troops were sent to Sandžak Novi Pazar.

only had inadequate mountain equipment. At the time the k.u.k. army, like all other European armies, had no special mountain formations.[34] The infrastructure necessary for the rapid advance of a modern army was largely lacking as well. Almost nowhere were there even moderately adequate roads; local agricultural resources to supply the troops were practically non-existent and the map material



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However attractive Bosnia looked to the visitor in 1878, the terrain in Bosnia and Herzegovina proved to be highly unfavourable to the occupying forces. Landscape sketch by an officer taking part in the occupation.

Archives CN

Road blocks set up by the rebels on the lines of communication, which were in bad condition anyway, made arduous detours necessary: mountain brigade near Belovar.

available was mainly obsolete or useless, so that resort often had to be taken to makeshift hand-drawn sketches. Everything was aggravated by the fact that the strength of the occupation corps at 82,000 men had been calculated very tightly for the political reasons depicted earlier.

Feldzeugmeister Joseph Freiherr Philippović von Philippsberg (1818-1889) had been given command of the attacking forces.[35] *Feldmarschallleutnant* Anton von Mollinary, who had been intended for this assignment after 1875, had been withdrawn on the pressure of the government in Budapest due to his ostensibly too pro-Slavic opinions. But Philippović was also a South Slav; he came from an old Bosnian Christian family that had fled to Croatia from the Turks in the 15th century. In his plan of operations for Bosnia he sought to concentrate his advance on Sarajevo. He proceeded from the correct assumption that it would be easier to extinguish the embers of the uprising, once the source of the fire had been brought under control.

Thus, Austro-Hungarian forces crossed the River Save to march in the direction of Sarajevo with several spearheads.[36] On 1 August 1878 Banja Luka was taken and the push towards Travnik was to be continued quickly. On 1 August, too, the first major encounter took place near Jajce, when 5,000 to 6,000 rebels including some deserting Turkish units surprised the 7th Division at a strategically well-chosen spot. But the attack could be driven back, albeit with heavy casualties.

However, the high risks of the much too daring advance were soon seen. So as not to diminish the strength of the army, it was not possible to secure the advance routes with strong forces in the by-no-means pacified areas. For the Bosnian combatants this almost meant an invitation to interdict the ill or undefended lines of communication and to try to cut off the advancing units from their lines of supply. While the 7th Infantry Troop Division[37] linked up near Vitez on 13 August with the main force of the occupation corps, which had advanced over the valley of the Bosna, where several engagements had only be won by time-consuming encircling movements, 3,000 rebels launched an attack planned by Turkish officers on Banja Luka. Units moved from Stara Gradiška to the border at the last moment prevented the weakly held town from falling.

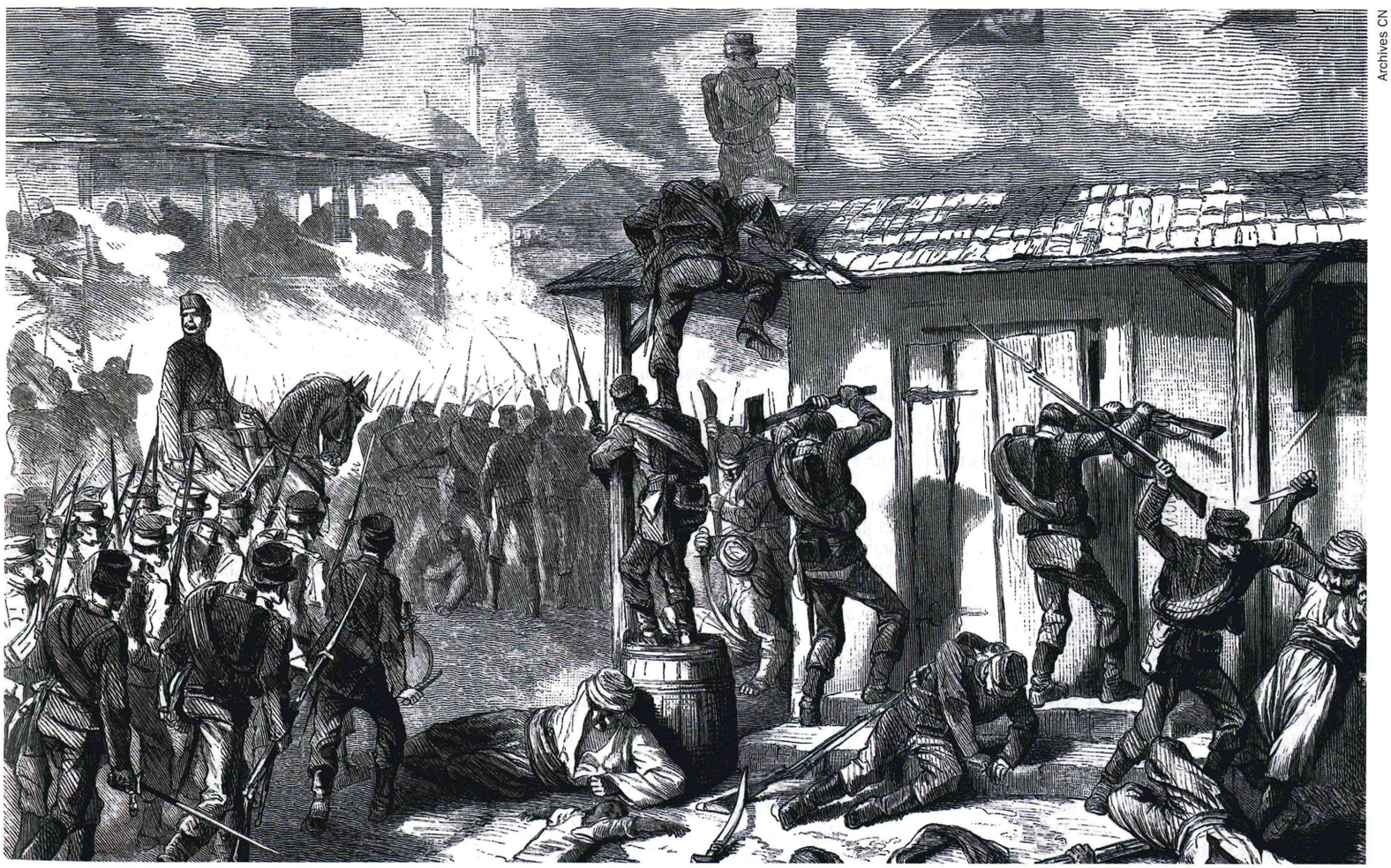
Archives CN

Doboj in the valley of the Bosna was also the scene of heavy fighting. Only once reinforcements had been dispatched could the situation be stabilized. Entrenching a battery in the vicinity of Doboj.

But the most precarious situation was still to come for the Austrian forces. A crisis proper developed in Posavina in eastern Bosnia, where the mufti of Taslidža was at the head of armed resistance. With the unrestricted authority he enjoyed among the population he ordered a general mobilization based on existing conscription lists. In eastern Bosnia he had more than 10,000 men, whom he forced into a straightjacket of discipline. On its march into Posavina the 20th Infantry Troop Division encountered these well organized units. The Austro-Hungarian forces suffered a defeat against the numerically superior enemy at Dolna Tuzla (today Tuzla) and had to withdraw. Then the mufti himself seized the initiative and attacked Doboj in the valley of the Bosna with 7,000 men, including battle-tested units and artillery. Now the main line of communications of the Austro-Hungarian forces was threatened. The situation could only be brought under control in mid-August after several crises.

Around this time fierce fighting also took place in other spots. Here the plan should be mentioned to dispatch several thousand rebels in the direction of Travnik to take the Austro-Hungarian forces in the rear. It was prevented at the last moment by transferring units stationed in Dalmatia, originally not intended for the occupation corps, for tying down rebel forces in the fighting for Livno. If they had been co-ordinated centrally, the Bosnian forces employed at this stage would have been fully in a position to turn the risky Austro-Hungarian advance on Sarajevo into a defeat.

As a whole, by mid-August 1878 the advance had proceeded much more sluggishly than even the greatest pessimists in the army had feared. Impressed by the resistance that was completely unexpected in this intensity, Vienna decided to double the strength of the forces involved. In the council of ministers on 11 August Emperor Franz Joseph had demanded that further troops be dispatched.[38] Andrássy opposed this view and stated that it was not so much armed resistance as the bad weather conditions that were to blame for the slow progress of the Habsburg troops. Actually, it was the opposition of public opinion – especially in Hungary where elections were forthcoming – and the funding of additional troops that determined Andrássy's argument. But after the arrival of news



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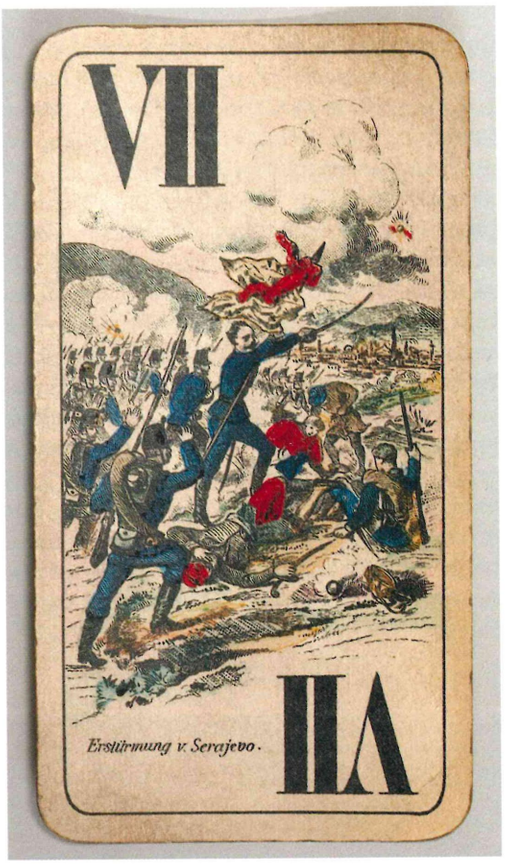
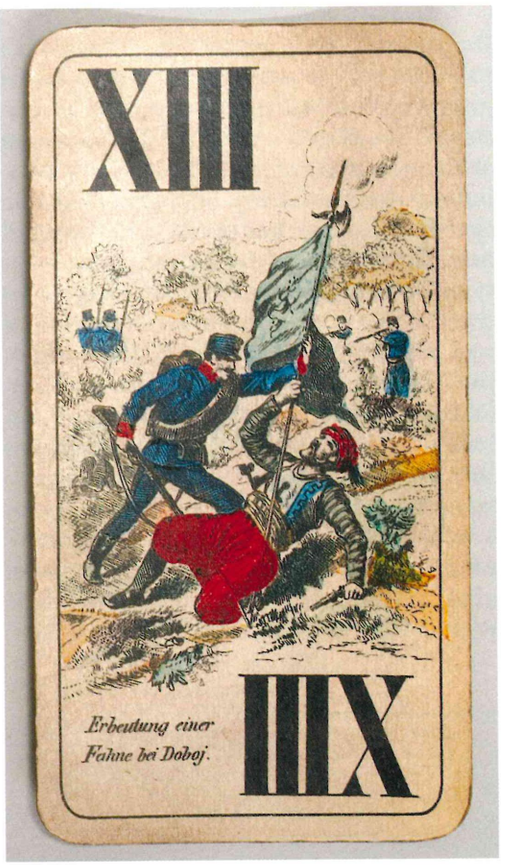
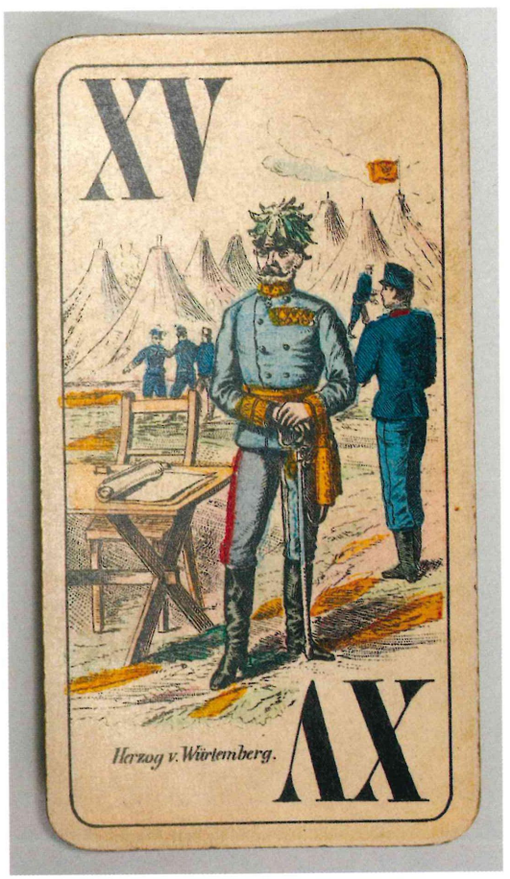
The Bosnian capital Sarajevo had to be taken in costly house-to-house fighting on 19 August 1878, as radical Muslims had taken over power beforehand.

VI
F.M.L. Philipovicz.
IA


VII
Erstürmung v. Serajevo.
IIA


XIII
Erbeutung einer
Fahne bei Doboj.
IIIX


XV
Herzog v. Würtemberg.
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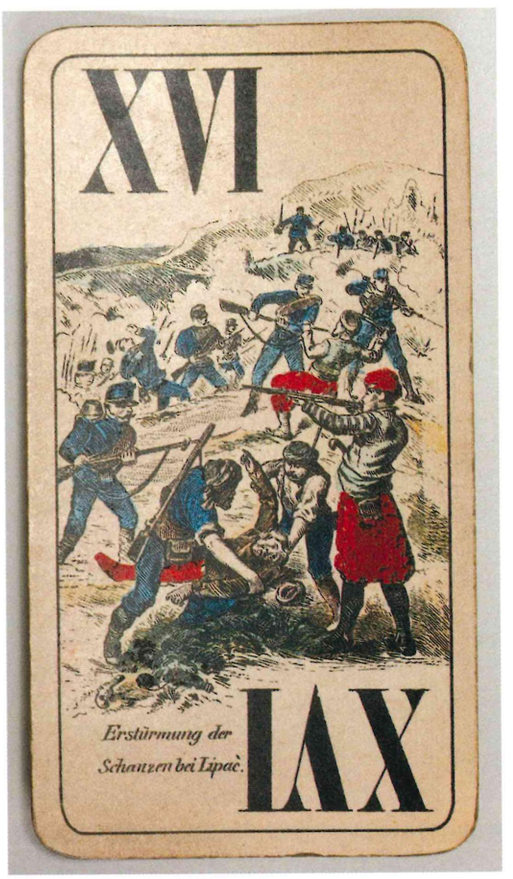
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Erstürmung der
Schanzen bei Lipać.
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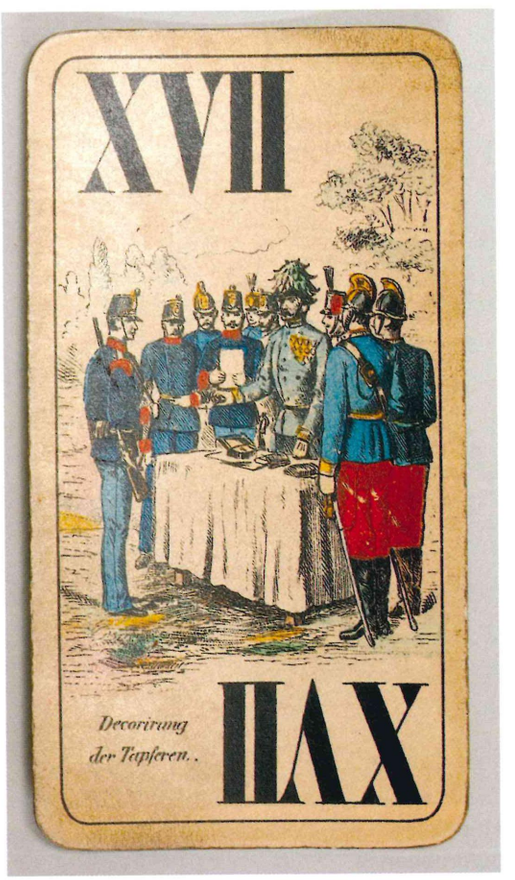
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of the defeat of Austro-Hungarian forces near Dolna Tuzla and their retreat to Doboj he could no longer prevent a massive increase in forces. In the meetings of the council of ministers on 13 and 19 August the corresponding decisions were taken. Thoughts centred on wanting to conclude the occupation successfully before the onset of winter if possible.

While deliberations were still being held in Vienna on increasing the quantity of troops, the die had been cast on the further course of the campaign in Zenica in the valley of the Bosna. For despite all adversities and the menacing threat to his rear, Philippović stuck to his original plan of advancing to Sarajevo.[39] Even Hafiz Pasha's appearance in the headquarters of the occupation corps and his request to stop the advance could not deter the *Feldzeugmeister*. On 18 August, the Emperor's birthday, the troops of the monarchy were in front of Sarajevo. For a time it looked as if the city might be handed over without a fight, as intended by Hafiz Pasha. But ultimately the radical Muslims gained the upper hand and the city was taken by Austro-Hungarian forces on 19 August 1878 after costly house-to-house fighting. Then about 6,000 rebels and many regular units retreated into the mountains east of Sarajevo.

The second phase of the occupation campaign started at the beginning of September. Philippović had managed to capture all the strategic points by then. With reinforcements arriving successively, he could now start pacifying the isolated areas tenaciously held by the rebels. For this objective, from mid-September onwards he had a total of 160,000 men and almost 300 guns, i.e. almost twice as many troops as had originally been intended for the occupation campaign. He had to eliminate four major centres of rebellion and there was heavy fighting everywhere.

- The Austro-Hungarian forces suffered their heaviest casualties in Krajina. A total of over 400 soldiers were killed in the fighting for Kljuk and Bihać, until Bihać was finally taken on 19 September 1878.
- In Livno, where there were still 8,000 rebels, the town was taken on 28 September after comparatively few losses.
- In Posavina troops continued to meet with the most tenacious resistance. After the mufti of Taslidža had repeatedly and vainly attempted to attack Doboj, two Austro-Hungarian corps launched a concentric offensive on Dolna Tuzla. After three days' shelling Austro-Hungarian units stormed rebel positions at Nova Brcka. Then on 22 and 27 September Dolna Tuzla and Zvornik fell into the hands of k.u.k. troops without fighting.
- The rebels who had escaped from Sarajevo had retreated to the area of Romanja Planina east of Sarajevo. Thanks to the effective use of artillery the advancing forces managed to rout 7,000 rebels at the Battle of Senković and Bandin. Then Višegrad was taken without a fight on 4 October 1878.

The ultimately successful campaign soon became popular. The Viennese playing card company of Piatnik subsequently issued tarot cards with motifs from the campaign of occupation. These included portraits of the main military commanders as well as key events in the campaign. (HGM)

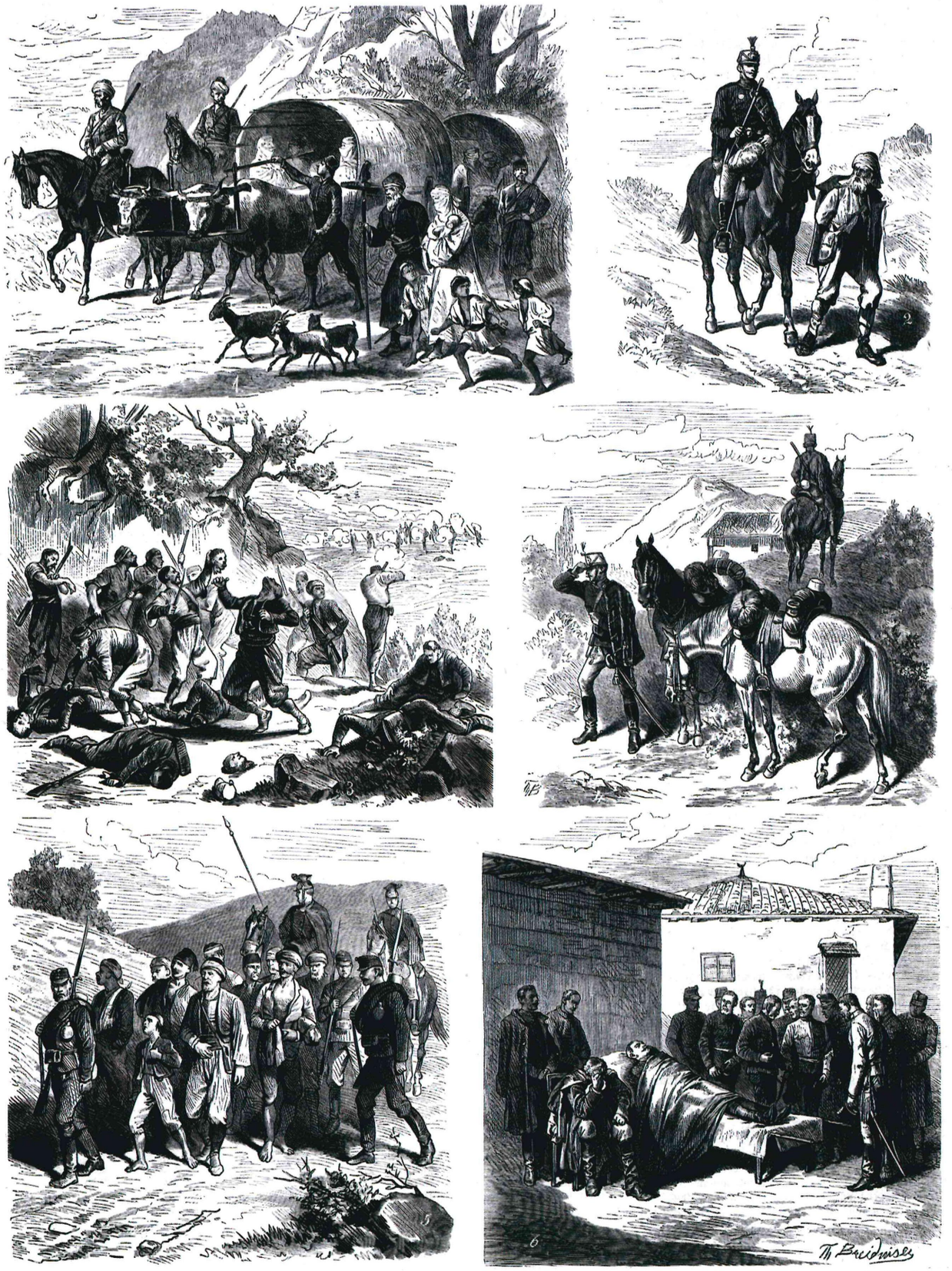
Items of uniform belonging to *Feldzeugmeister* Philippović

***Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Freiherr Philippović von Philippsberg (1818-1889). (HGM)**

Generals' Cap – The k.u.k. general, born in Gospic (Croatia) in 1819 and raised to the barony with the rank of *Oberst* in 1860, was given command of the forces for the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878. On the lining of his cap there is the name 'Philippović', printed in gold letters and surmounted by a baron's coronet. (HGM)

Tunic from the Property of *Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Frh. Philippović v. Philippsberg – The competent general and later commander of the forces of occupation in Bosnia had already been appointed colonel-in-chief of k.u.k. Bohemian Infantry Regiment No. 35, formed as Infantry Regiment 'Duke of Württemberg' in 1683, in 1867 and was thus authorized to wear the uniform of an honorary colonel of this regiment. He held this office until his death in 1889.

The tunic, manufactured by F. Rittiř in Prague is made of fine dark-blue cloth and provided with the crimson piping and smooth, gilt buttons stipulated for k.u.k. Infantry Regiment No. 35. Inconspicuous dark thread loops are attached to both shoulders and fastened to the collar by a small button covered with dark-blue fabric. They were for attaching the order ribbons to be worn 'en echarpe'. The loops for attaching the ribbons of different decorations on the level of the top tunic button or for fastening an order star are also visible. Philippović, after his command in Bosnia and Herzegovina, general commanding the general headquarters in Prague was a Commander of the Military Maria Theresia Order (1879), a recipient of the Grand Cross of the Austrian Order of Leopold, the Imperial Austrian Order of the Iron Crown 2nd Class (the latter two with war decorations) and a holder of the Military Merit Cross. (HGM)



Archives CN

War scenes from Bosnia (after original contemporary sketches). This lithograph was captioned with the following text: 1. Refugee Turkish family; 2. Hussar escorts a captured chieftain; 3. Combat in broken country; 4. Cavalry outpost; 5. Transport of prisoners; 6. Soldier next to his dead officer.

Combat in Herzegovina

As in Sarajevo, in Mostar, too, the capital of Herzegovina, an action committee had formed at the end of July, which seized power in a bloody coup with the aid of a deserting Redif (Turkish territorial army) battalion on 2 August 1878.[40] The planned organization of the uprising commenced immediately. But by carrying out a skilful bypassing movement the Austro-Hungarian forces moving in from Dalmatia under the command of *Feldmarschallleutnant* Stephan Freiherr von Jovanovic (1828-1885) managed to take possession of Mostar almost without a fight.[41] The rebels had reckoned on the troops of occupation taking the obvious route through the valley of the Neretva. Jovanovic reinforced this impression by making diversionary movements, but then – thoroughly acquainted with local conditions, as he had been the Austrian consul general in Sarajevo between 1861 and 1865 – he pushed forward over the almost impassable crest of the Dinaric Alps towards Ljubuski, which he took on 2 August 1878. In complete surprise to the insurgents he was in front of Mostar two days later and thus obtained the immediate surrender of the town without a fight. Thus, the Austro-Hungarians had reached their first most important objective in Herzegovina.

But resistance in the province was not yet broken. The almost inaccessible regions east and south-east of Mostar were still in the hands of the rebels, who from there menaced the lines of communication between Dalmatia and Mostar. Indeed, the weakly held fortress of Stolac was besieged by 5,000 rebels, who, after taking the town, pushed further on into the valley of the Neretva, seeking to cut off the Habsburg troops in Mostar. After a siege of several days the town could

Archives ON

The occupation of Prjepolje (after a contemporary drawing). With Turkish consent Austro-Hungarian forces marched into Sandžak Novi Pazar in September 1879.

be relieved and the rebel offensive plans thwarted.

After the arrival of reinforcements at the beginning of September the Austrians started to mop up the centres of resistance in Herzegovina, too. On 7 September 1878 the rapidly advancing troops took Trebinje and Bilek on 19 September. After four days' shelling (24-28 September 1878) the last bastion of the uprising, the almost impregnable border fortress of Klobuk, fell into the hands of the occupation forces.

Immediately after hostilities had ceased, the majority of the occupation corps began to be transported home. About 6,000 Austro-Hungarian soldiers had been killed in the about 60 major or minor armed engagements.[42] At the turn of 1878/79 only 50,000 troops with 110 guns remained to secure the provinces.[43] The army was still in control of the civilian administration. However, it was said that Philippović spurned Muslims and favoured Christians. On the pressure of the Hungarian government he was relieved as general officer commanding and head of the civilian administration by one of his corps commanders, the pro-Turkish Duke Wilhelm of Württemberg (1828-1896), not only a brave, but also highly educated and widely travelled officer.[44] It was now up to him, in consultation with the foreign ministry in Vienna, to execute the open territorial provisions of the Treaty of Berlin as far as they concerned the monarchy: the occupation of the area of Spizza and Sandžak Novi Pazar.

Establishment of Garrisons in Sandžak Novi Pazar

Prior to the occupation the council of ministers had agreed on 19 July 1878 not to occupy Sandžak Novi Pazar for the time being, so as to enable the Turks to withdraw their troops. At the end of August 1878 the political and military leadership held the unanimous view that Sandžak Novi Pazar should only be occupied with the consent of the High Porte and, if this were not obtainable, the idea of occupation abandoned. Two arguments led to this merely limited interest. The originally projected routing of the Oriental Railway through Novi Pazar was not immediately relevant and the necessity to control the corridor between Serbia and Montenegro was no longer regarded as so important. But in the end Austria-Hungary did not want entirely to eschew Sandžak. But unlike in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the whole administration was not to be taken over in Sandžak, but merely some k.u.k. garrisons stationed so as to protect the southern border of Bosnia from agitation and incursions.

This was also laid down in the convention between the monarchy and the High Porte that Andrássy finally concluded in April 1879 after months of arduous negotiations. Then the march-in of the Habsburg troops was prepared with meticulous precision. A thorough reconnaissance was made during which the special attempt was made to utilize the experiences gained in Bosnia before the march-in began on 8 September under the command of the Duke of Württemberg.[45] Contrary to fears in advance, everything proceeded smoothly on the whole. Nowhere did the Austro-Hungarian forces meet with serious resistance. Even the shortage of quarters, initially viewed as the main difficulty, proved to be less dramatic. Once the stipulated locations of Plevlje, Priboj and Prjepolje had been occupied by Austro-Hungarian forces, the planned units could already stay the winter in Sandžak Novi Pazar. Subsequently, Ottoman sovereignty remained, whilst the Austro-Hungarian garrisons contributed to the stability of the region. Austro-Hungarian and Turkish troops stood next to one another on the border. Ultimately, this was an early 'peace-keeping measure' in the Balkans that was to last until the annexation crisis of 1908.[46]

The Congress of Berlin had also awarded Austria-Hungary the area around Spizza, a region on the southern border of Dalmatia that had been occupied by Montenegro in 1877. It could be occupied peacefully and in agreement with Montenegro in May 1879.

In September 1879 all the territorial provisions of the Treaty of Berlin affecting Austria-Hungary had been fulfilled. Subsequently, the Austro-Hungarian occupying power took steps allowing no doubt that the Dual Monarchy intended to establish itself permanently in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that Ottoman sovereignty was only nominal.

Consequences of the Occupation for the Monarchy

Although the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina could only be carried out by military force, the relationship of the country to the Dual Monarchy was to develop positively over the following three and a half decades.

The instructions at the beginning of the campaign of occupation ordered the absolutely equal treatment of religious denominations and disseminated it in thousands of leaflets. From the outset religious tolerance and complete acceptance of their social structures within Bosnian-Herzegovinian society were signalized in particular to the Muslim sections of the population.[47] In 1912, Islam was recognized (to put it more precisely, Islam according to the Hanafite ritual prevailing in Sunni Islam, to which the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina belong) as a religious community with equal rights in Austria. Hungary followed in 1916. The deliberate strengthening of the role of the Muslim population was probably intended as a counterweight to the nationalist aspirations of the Orthodox (or Serbian) and the Catholic (or Croatian) ethnic groups. This is how it came to pass that the Muslim Bosnians of all people, who had offered such savage resistance to Austro-Hungarian forces in 1878, were considered particularly loyal soldiers in this army before and during the First World War.

The Austro-Hungarian administration implemented a wave of modernization and westernization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As Ivan Lovrenovic put it, the country experienced '*a period of far-reaching inner changes*'. [48] Austro-Hungarian civil servants, a considerable proportion of whom came from the Slavic nations of the monarchy, built up a working administrative apparatus in a territory almost as large as Bohemia within a relatively short space of time. The existing infrastructure was boosted. In this context the expansion of the road and

rail network need only be mentioned. Compulsory education was introduced and soon a network of new school buildings stretched throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the beginnings of modern industry in the timber, mining and metal sectors emerged, the Habsburg administration avoided enforcing reform of the backward agrarian structures, so that the anachronistic feudal system could largely continue to exist.

The Austrian authorities ultimately remained unsuccessful in their endeavours to 'balance the national identities' of the three major religious and then ethnic groups. Particularly the long-standing Austro-Hungarian finance minister, responsible for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Benjamin von Kállay (Béni Kállay de Nagy-Kálló, 1839-1903), tried to create a 'national sense of being Bosnian'. His measures to build up constitutional conditions and stable institutional structures, eliminate national differences and strengthen a sense of solidarity are in many respects reminiscent of modern approaches to 'nation building', such as the international community has pursued in many countries, not least in Bosnia-Herzegovina, since the end of the 'cold war'.[49]

However, the process of finding national identity on the basis of the individual religious communities, the beginning of which went back to the time before the occupation, could no longer be reversed, as everywhere in the Balkans.[50] A significant contribution to this process had been made by the emergence of an urban intelligentsia along religious and national dividing lines. The educational institutions so encouraged by the Habsburg administrative authorities also made a significant contribution towards this development. A paradigm of the ambivalence of the modern age becomes evident here. School and university graduates in particular eagerly absorbed nationalism as an import from the West, thus becoming the pillars of radical anti-Habsburg currents in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society.[51]

It must ultimately remain a moot question as to what extent the occupation was a foreign policy success for the monarchy. In the medium term, Austria-Hungary's position in the Balkans had been consolidated, in political and economic respects, and the possible threat of a South Slavic-Serbian major power averted. In the long term, Austria-Hungary had become more deeply involved in the nationality issue in the Balkans, which was more dangerous to the empire than ever before. Somewhat more than a million South Slavs added through the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina had to imply an additional source of unrest for the already politically precarious balance in the multinational state.

The Consequences on Domestic Policy in Austria-Hungary

To quote Helmut Rumpler, the occupation led to '*a major disaster*' in terms of domestic policy.[52] In both halves of the empire Andrássy had lost all the support of the Liberal currents that had represented his political power base and resigned in 1879. In the Cisleithanian half of the empire the occupation spelled the end of political Liberalism. The German Liberals loyal to the constitution fragmented into different factions and were thus lost to the overall monarchy as the '*most important pillar of strong Imperial policy*'.[53]

The Liberal establishment that had dominated the Austrian political stage since 1867, with the exception of the short-lived period of office of Hohenwart-Schäffle (1871[54]), had been weakened for the first time by the stock market crash of 1873. At the time not only the confidence of broad sections of the population in the ideology of economic Liberalism had vanished, but many Liberal leaders had also been discredited in the eyes of the public by their participation in shady deals.[55] The shock of the stock market crash was expressed in the elections to the Imperial Assembly the same year, when the Liberals had to accept painful losses of votes, but still remained the dominant political power.

But in the following years the Liberals increasingly let the law of political initiative slip away and turned more and more from an offensive reform party into a defensive conservative party and began to destroy itself with constant internal quarrels.[56] The compromise negotiated with Hungary on the quota agreement at the beginning of 1878 had already led to such severe tensions between the government and the majority that Prime Minister Adolf Fürst Auersperg (1821-1885) offered his resignation in January 1878. But Emperor Franz Joseph refused and requested him to stay in office until the end of the compromise negotiations with Hungary.[57]

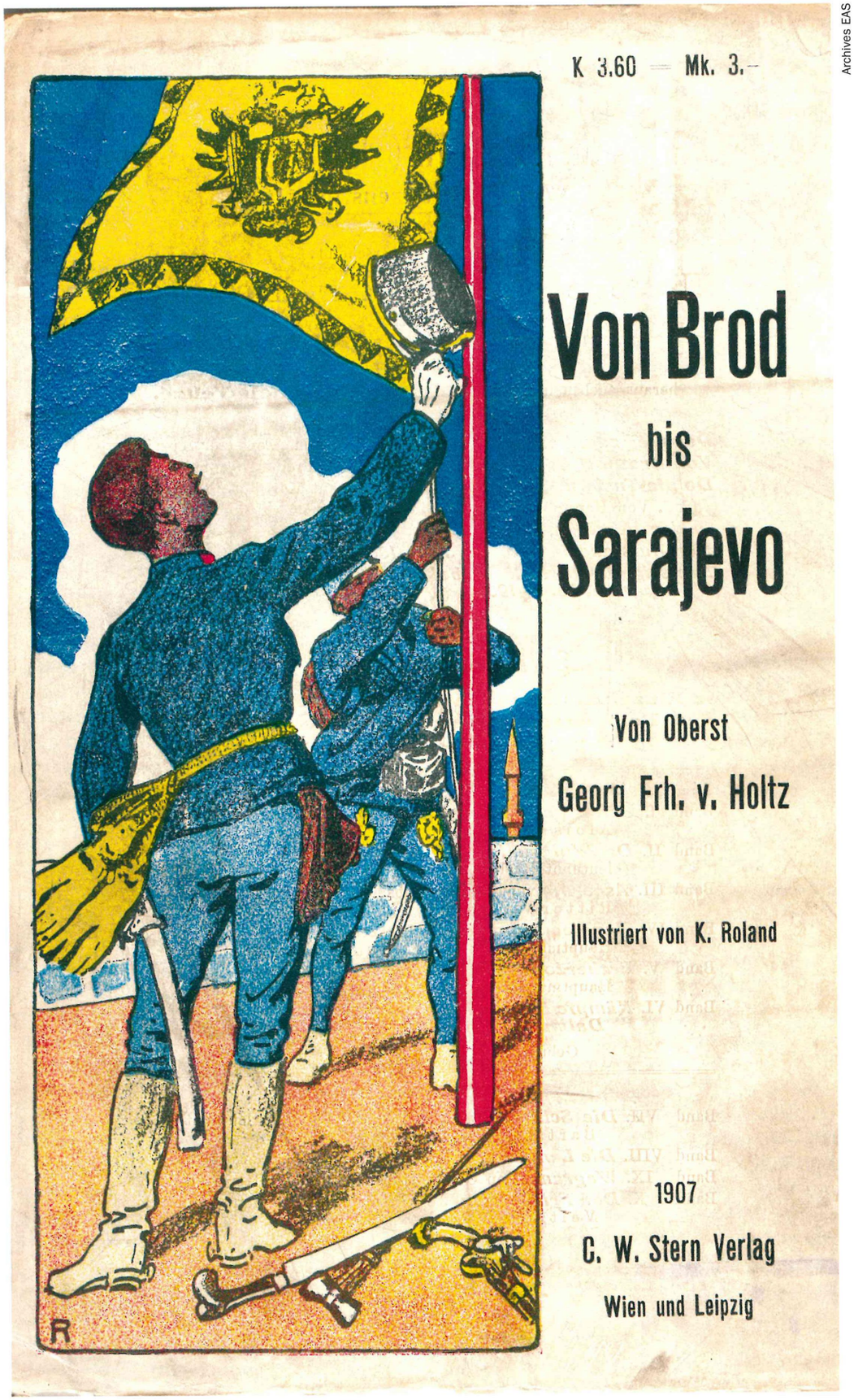
In the meantime, the domestic conflict of Austro-Hungarian policy in the Balkans, which had been smouldering for over two years, had escalated in spring 1878 when rumours intensified about the possibility of an occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In March 1878, Andrássy had approached the delegations with a demand for an extraordinary budget of 60 million gulden. He argued in favour of this step by stating he had to have as strong a position as possible at the forthcoming peace talks. He did not exclude the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but, without pinning himself down in any way, hinted at the possibility of an armed conflict with Russia. Such a conflict would have been quite popular in Austria, and even more so in Hungary, and so a majority was relatively easily found for the funds demanded by the foreign minister.

The fiercest opposition to the acquisition of Bosnia-Herzegovina came from the *Neue Freie Presse*. Under its editor-in-chief and co-publisher, Michael Etienne (1827-1879), it had assumed the most abrupt anti-annexation stance in the Austrian press landscape of the time.[58] Before summer 1878 it followed the trend of public opinion which, with the exception of the Slavs and army circles, had been sceptical or hostile to territorial expansion in the south-east. But as soon as the occupation commenced and the army conquered the two provinces with the efforts already described, the mood of the population changed. Whereas the other liberal papers, the moderate *Presse* and the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* under Moritz Szeps (1835-1902), which had originally also opposed the occupation, now accepted the fait accompli, the *Neue Freie Presse* stuck to its initial rejec-

tion and even intensified it. The main arguments were the financial burdens caused by the occupation – the great financial crisis of 1873 had only been five years before – and the fear of becoming involved in the unpredictable affairs of the Balkans as well as, in the second half of the 1870s, the increasingly heated conflict over national property, in which the Liberals saw themselves pushed more and more onto the defensive as the representatives of the German economic and intellectual bourgeoisie.

In autumn 1878 there was a complete breach among the German Liberals.[59] As Auersperg did not want to close his mind to the Emperor's and Andrássy's wishes, but knew he did not have a parliamentary majority, he again requested Franz Joseph to accept his resignation on 7 October 1878. But the Emperor reckoned on a new Liberal cabinet and requested the head of the government to stay in office. Yet the Liberals were already too divided on the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina to form a new government. Franz Joseph felt duped by the Liberals – not entirely without justification – and was finally willing to give confidence to a government that would work without the support of the Liberals. The already ongoing talks on the possible return of the Czechs to the Imperial Assembly made such a possibility seem tangibly close.

What now followed on the floor of parliament at the end of 1878 and the beginning of 1879 can only be termed the swansong of the German Liberals. Without noticing that they had no longer had any resonance in the broad mass of the population, where the acquisition of the provinces was beginning to enjoy great popularity after an upsurge of patriotic awareness, they continued doggedly to oppose the occupation. Now they had ruined their chances forever with Franz Joseph, who here saw an inadmissible interference in his dynastic prerogatives in the sphere of foreign policy. In February 1879, when the Treaty of Berlin



Archives EAS

The double eagle above the minaret – a symbol for developments in Bosnia after 1878.

Archives JS

Duke Wilhelm of Württemberg (1828-1896) commanded a corps of the forces of occupation and after the end of hostilities became the GOC and head of the provincial government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Archives JS

For the Liberals the political crisis caused by the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina spelled the end of their dominant position. Prime Minister Adolf Carl Fürst Auersperg (1821-1885) resigned in February 1879.

had passed the parliamentary stage, the Emperor finally accepted Adolf Auersperg's resignation. After the interim cabinet of the Liberal Karl von Stremayr (1823-1904) had conducted business until mid-1879, with the conservative social reformer Eduard Graf Taafe (1833-1895) and his conservative government of the 'Iron Ring' a new era began in the constitutional period of the monarchy.

In autumn 1879 the Dual Alliance was signed with the German Empire. This produced the paradoxical situation that Franz Joseph no longer counted on the German Liberals as the leading government party within the monarchy, but had tied the monarchy closely to Bismarck's German Empire on the international stage.[60]

In the Austrian political landscape consolidating in the following years until the end of the monarchy, Liberalism could no longer establish itself as an independent political force. Instead, liberal elements or currents found their way into all three emerging mass parties: the Christian Socials, the Social Democrats and the Pan-Germans.[61]

1 Steven Beller, *Franz Joseph: Eine Biographie* (Vienna 1997), 99.

In the Dual Monarchy resulting from the 'Compromise' with Hungary in 1867 'common affairs' – comprising the dynasty, foreign policy, the army and navy and the finance ministry responsible for joint matters – were termed 'Imperial' [= Austrian] and 'Royal' [Hungarian], abbreviated to 'k.u.k.'. Affairs of both halves of the Empire were either 'Imperial-Royal' ('k.k.', the second, the 'Royal' 'k.' not referring to Hungary, but to Bohemia etc.) or 'Royal Hungarian' ('k.u.'). Strictly speaking, the abbreviation 'k.u.k.' (for better differentiation) was only normal after 1889 and before then the abbreviation 'k.k.' was used. For the sake of clarity, this book will use the abbreviation 'k.u.k.' for all common institutions, even in the period before 1889.

2 The 'Compromise' of 1867 divided the Empire of Austria into two states linked by the dynasty and some common institutions in a real union. Whereas the Kingdom of Hungary was clearly defined, the Austrian half of the Empire was circumscribed as 'the kingdoms and nations represented in the Imperial Assembly'. It was only in 1916 that the usual term of 'Austria' was officially introduced. In everyday language and with reference to the River Leitha, separating both halves of the Empire, the term 'Cisleithania' was typical for Austria and 'Transleithania' for Hungary.

3 For a general overview cf. Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (London – Basingstoke, updated ed. 1996); and Robert J. Donia – John V.A. Fine, Jr., *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* (New York 1994). Following the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992 to 1995 numerous surveys were published on Bosnian history.

4 The military frontier, which stretched from the Croatian coast in a wide arc to today's Romania, was also the origin of the Serb-populated areas of Croatia, for which there was such savage fighting in the wars of the 1990s.

5 Arnold Suppan, Außen- und militärpolitische Strategie Österreich-Ungarns vor Beginn des bosnischen Aufstandes 1875, in: *Medunarodni naucni skup povodom 100 godišnjice ustanaka u bosni i herzegovini, drugim balkanskim zemljama i istocnoj krizi 1875-1878. godine.* (= Akademija nauka i umjetnosti bosne i herzegovine. Posebna izdanja knjiga XXX. Odjeljene društvenih nauka knjia 4, Sarajevo 1977), Vol. 1, 159-175, here 160. For the following cf. Franz Josef Kos, *Die Politik Österreich-Ungarns während der Orientkrise 1874/75-1879: Zum Verhältnis von politischer und militärischer Führung* (= Dissertationen zur Neueren Geschichte 16, Cologne/Vienna 1984), 21. For the overall issue reference needs to be made to a publication by Horst Haselsteiner which treats different questions sketched in this essay in several different essays. Separate reference is made to some studies contained in this work, but first published elsewhere: Horst Haselsteiner, *Bosnien-Hercegovina: Südslawische Frage und Orientalische Krise* (Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 1996).

6 Quoted from Helmut Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa: Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna 1997), 445.

7 Cf. the essays by Horst Haselsteiner (Grundzüge der Orientpolitik der Habsburgermonarchie: Zwischen Kontinuität und Wandel, and Zur Haltung der Donaumonarchie in der Orientalischen Frage), in: id., *Bosnien-Hercegowina*, 10, 16.

8 For the military conference on 29 January 1875 cf. Kos, *Politik Österreich-Ungarns*, 69-78; Suppan, *Strategie*, 162-170; Istvan Dioszegi, Andrássy und der Aufstand von Herzegowina im Sommer des Jahres 1875, in: *Medunarodni naucni skup*, 367-385, here 369-374. Nevertheless, this author cannot agree with all the conclusions in the final essay, as they seem to him too daring.

9 As regards the development at the beginning of 1875, Horst Haselsteiner appositely remarks: *'Despite the movement by the Danube Monarchy in the direction of a more active policy...an oscillating margin of haziness remained. ... The dilemma of the two contradictory positions of Balkan policy continued to exist. ... The logical and menacing consequence: Russia had seized the law of the initiative and it had slipped away from the Danube Monarchy, which could not primarily act, but had to react'.* Haselsteiner, *Bosnien-Hercegowina*, 25.

10 For Rodich cf. Rudolf Kiszling, Feldzeugmeister Gabriel Freiherr von Rodich, in: *Neue Österreichische Biographie* Vol. 11 (Zürich-Leipzig-Vienna 1957), 183-187.

11 The phrase frequently used in this context to describe Andrássy's policy as *'optionally annexistic'* – coined by his biographer Wertheimer– seems pertinent to the author despite Suppan's scepticism. Suppan, Strategie, 172.

12 Kos, *Politik Österreich-Ungarns*, 90-98.

13 Milorad Ekmečić, *Der Aufstand in Bosnien 1875-1878* (= Zur Kunde Südeuropas I/3, Vols. 1 and 2, Graz 1974), here: Vol. 1, 1-104.

14 Karl Kaser, *Freundschaft und Feindschaft auf dem Balkan: Euro-balkanische Herausforderungen* (Klagenfurt 2001), 45.

15 Holm Sundhausen, *Geschichte Serbiens: 19.-21. Jahrhundert* (Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 2007), 136; Mustafa Imamovic, *Bosnia and Herzegowina: Evolution of its Political and Legal Institutions* (Sarajevo 2006), 177. Cf. also the memoirs of A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd Europas: 50 Jahre Balkan-Erinnerungen* (Leipzig 1929), who volunteered to join the rebels, like many other Austrians and Germans.

16 Ivan Lovrenovic, *Bosnien und Herzegowina: Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Vienna-Bolzano 1999), 141.

17 Haselsteiner, *Bosnien-Hercegowina*, 11 and 24.

18 Ekmečić, *Aufstand,* 188-193.

19 Kos, *Politik Österreich-Ungarns*, 90-98

20 Horst Haselsteiner, Andrassys Pazifizierungsversuch im Februar/März 1876, in: *Medunarodni naucni skup povodom* ..., Vol. 1, 187-201, here 189-195.

21 Suppan, Strategie, 175.

22 Ekmečić, *Aufstand*, 341.

23 The percentages relate to the official statistics of 1879, quoted from: Alexander Novotny, Zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des Berliner Kongresses, in: id., *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Berliner Kongresses 1878, Bd. 1: Österreich, die Türkei und das Balkanproblem im Jahre des Berliner Kongresses* (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 44, Graz-Cologne 1957), 9-68, here 13.

24 Haselsteiner, *Bosnien-Hercegowina*, 30.

25 August Fournier, *Wie wir zu Bosnien kamen: Eine historische Studie* (Vienna 1909), 77.

26 Kos, *Politik Österreich-Ungarns*, 364.

27 For the following cf. ibid. 9-14; Novotny, Zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des Berliner Kongresses, 12-18.

28 Ekmečić, *Aufstand*, 241-248.

29 For the following cf. *Die Occupation Bosniens und der Herzegowina durch k.k. Truppen im Jahre 1878: Dargestellt nach authentischen Quellen in der Abteilung für Kriegsgeschichte des k.k Kriegs-Archives*, Vol. 1 and 2 (Vienna 1879), here: Vol. 1, 64-67.

30 Ibid., Vol. 1, 75.

31 Politically, the aims of the leaders of the resistance movement went beyond merely repelling Austro-Hungarian forces. They also wanted to shake off Ottoman rule once and for all and only retain a loose autonomous relationship to the High Porte. This was intended to make it possible to put an end to all reform attempts and rule the two provinces in accordance with the feudal concepts of the so-called Old Turk movements. Cf. *Occupation*, Vol. 2, 863; and for the following ibid., Vol. 1, 71-80.

32 Imamovic, *Bosnia*, 186.

33 For the following cf. especially László Bencze, *The Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878*, Frank N. Schubert ed. (= War and Society in East Central Europe XXXIX (Boulder – New York 2005); also Robert J. Donia, The Habsburg Imperial Army in the Occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, in: Béla K. Kiraly – Gale Stokes (eds.), *Insurrections, Wars and the Eastern Crisis in the 1870s* (= East European Monographs CICVII = Atlantic Studies: Brooklyn College Studies on Society and Change, Boulder – New York 1985), 375-391; Anton Wagner, Der Feldzug in Bosnien und der Herzegowina im Jahre 1878: Ein historisches Beispiel zum Problem Raumverteidigung, in: *Truppendienst: Zeitschrift für die Ausbildung im Bundesheer*, Jg. 17 (Vienna 1978), 222-227 and 326-333, here 222-225.

34 For details of this issue cf. the essays in the volume edited by Hermann Hinterstoisser, M. Christian Ortner and Erwin A. Schmidl *The Austrian Mountain Troops: History, Uniforms and Equipment of Austrian Mountain Troops from 1906 to 1918* (Vienna: Edition Militaria, 2006).

35 *Feldzeugmeister* was the Austrian term for a three-star general coming from the infantry or artillery (in 1908 the rank of *General der Infanterie* was introduced). The Austro-Hungarian army had the ranks of *Generalmajor* (one star), *Feldmarschallleutnant* (two stars) and *Feldzeugmeister* or *General der Kavallerie* (three stars). The terms *Brigadier*, *Divisionär* und *Korpskommandant* also existed, but they described functions, not ranks. It was only during the First World War that the rank of *Generaloberst* (three stars and a wreath) was introduced above *General der Infanterie* or *General der Kavallerie* or *Feldzeugmeister*; *Feldmarschall* was above this.

36 For the fighting in Bosnia cf. especially: *Occupation*, Vol. 1, 99-268, 371-451, Vol. 2, 99-268, 371-451, 471-730. Also Alois Veltze (ed.), *Unsere Truppen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina 1878: Illustrierte Einzeldarstellungen*, 6 Vols. (Vienna-Leipzig 1907-1909), particularly Vols. 2, 4, and 6 (they contain accounts and reports by officers involved in the occupation which are sometimes quite subjective and stylistically somewhat reminiscent of later war novels, but with interesting details that sometimes correct the information in the general staff work); as well as Wagner, Feldzug, 226f, 326-329.

37 The term *Truppendivision* usual in Austria-Hungary until into the First World War for a large formation with an establishment of about 10,000 men (a division today) was used as a distinction from the battalion-strong *Division* (detachment) in the cavalry and artillery.

38 Kos, *Politik Österreich-Ungarns*, 369-373.

39 Rudolf Kiszling, Feldzeugmeister Joseph Freiherr von Philippović von Philippsberg (1819-1889), in: *Neue Österreichische Biographie*, Vol. 14 (Vienna-Munich-Zürich 1965), 183-187, here 185.

40 *Occupation*, Vol. 2, 870-872.

41 For the fighting in Herzegovina cf. *Occupation*, Vol. 1, 731-816; Veltze, *Unsere Truppen*, Vol. 3; Wagner, Feldzug, 328.

42 Imamovic, *Bosnia*, 188.

43 Wagner, Feldzug, 329.

44 For the following cf. Kos, *Politik Österreich-Ungarns*, 380-415. At the time it was not unusual for the members of young lines of ruling dynasties to serve in different European armies. Wilhelm's father, Duke Eugene, for instance, had been a general in the Russian army. Wilhelm studied in Meiningen, Breslau and Bonn and passed his officer's examination in Prussia before joining the Austro-Hungarian army in 1848.

45 *Occupation*, 892-904.

46 Kaser, *Freundschaft und Feindschaft*, 292.

47 Cf. also Robert J. Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (New York 1981).

48 Lovrenovic, *Bosnien*, 142.

49 Cf. Karl-Peter Schwarz, Jung-Bosnien, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 September 2004.

50 Lovrenovic, *Bosnien*, 144.

51 Dimitrije Djordjević, Die Serben, in: Adam Wandruszka/ Peter Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848 – 1918*, Vol. 3, *Die Völker des Reichs* (Vienna 1980), 734-774, here 769-772.

52 Rumpler, *Chance*, 450.

53 Ibid.

54 Karl Graf Hohenwart von Gerlachstein (1824-1899) was the prime minister and the minister of the interior, the economics professor from Wurttemberg Dr. Albert Schäffle (1831-1903) was the minister of trade and commerce.

55 Adam Wandruszka, Österreich-Ungarn vom ungarischen Ausgleich bis zum Ende der Monarchie (1867-1918), in: Theodor Schieder (ed.), *Europa im Zeitalter der Nationalstaaten und europäische Weltpolitik bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (= Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte, Vol. 6, Stuttgart 1968), 353-399, here 363.

56 For that period the term 'party' must be used generally and only with caution in the case of the Liberals. At any rate there were no party organizations in terms of modern mass parties, but only different parliamentary factions and clubs that were by no means cohesive. The Liberal majority in the House of Representatives was composed of several of these parliamentary factions.

57 Jean Paul Bled, La question de Bosnie Herzegovine et la fin de l´ere liberale en Autriche, in: Ralph Melville – Hans-Jürgen Schröder (eds.), *Der Berliner Kongreß von 1878: Die Politik der Großmächte und die Probleme der Modernisierung in Südosteuropa in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, Beiheft 7, Wiesbaden 1982), 259-270, here 260f.

58 Cf. Horst Haselsteiner, Öffentliche Meinung oder Meinungspluralismus? Zum Widerhall der Okkupation in der deutschsprachigen Presse der Donaumonarchie, in: *Naucni skup otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878: Godine u bosni i herzegovine* (= Akademija nauka i umjetnosti bosne i herzegovine psoebna izdanja knjiga XLIII. odjeljenje drustvenih nauka knjiga 8, Sarajevo 1979), 215-244. Doris Ströher, *Die Okkupation Bosniens und der Herzegovina und die öffentliche Meinung Österreich-Ungarns* (phil. Diss., Vienna 1949), here particularly 94-122.

59 For the following cf. Gustav Kolmer, *Parlament und Verfassung in Österreich*, Vol. 2, 1869-1879 (Vienna-Leipzig 1903), 440-465; Ernst Plener, *Erinnerungen*, Vol. 2 (Stuttgart 1921), 123-143.

60 Beller, *Franz Joseph*, 102.

61 Cf. the still fundamental study: Adam Wandruszka, Österreichs politische Struktur: Die Entwicklung der Parteien und politischen Bewegungen, in: Heinrich Benedikt (ed.), *Geschichte der Republik Österreich* (Vienna 1954), 289-485.

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Units in the k.u.k. Army

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Units in the k.u.k. Army

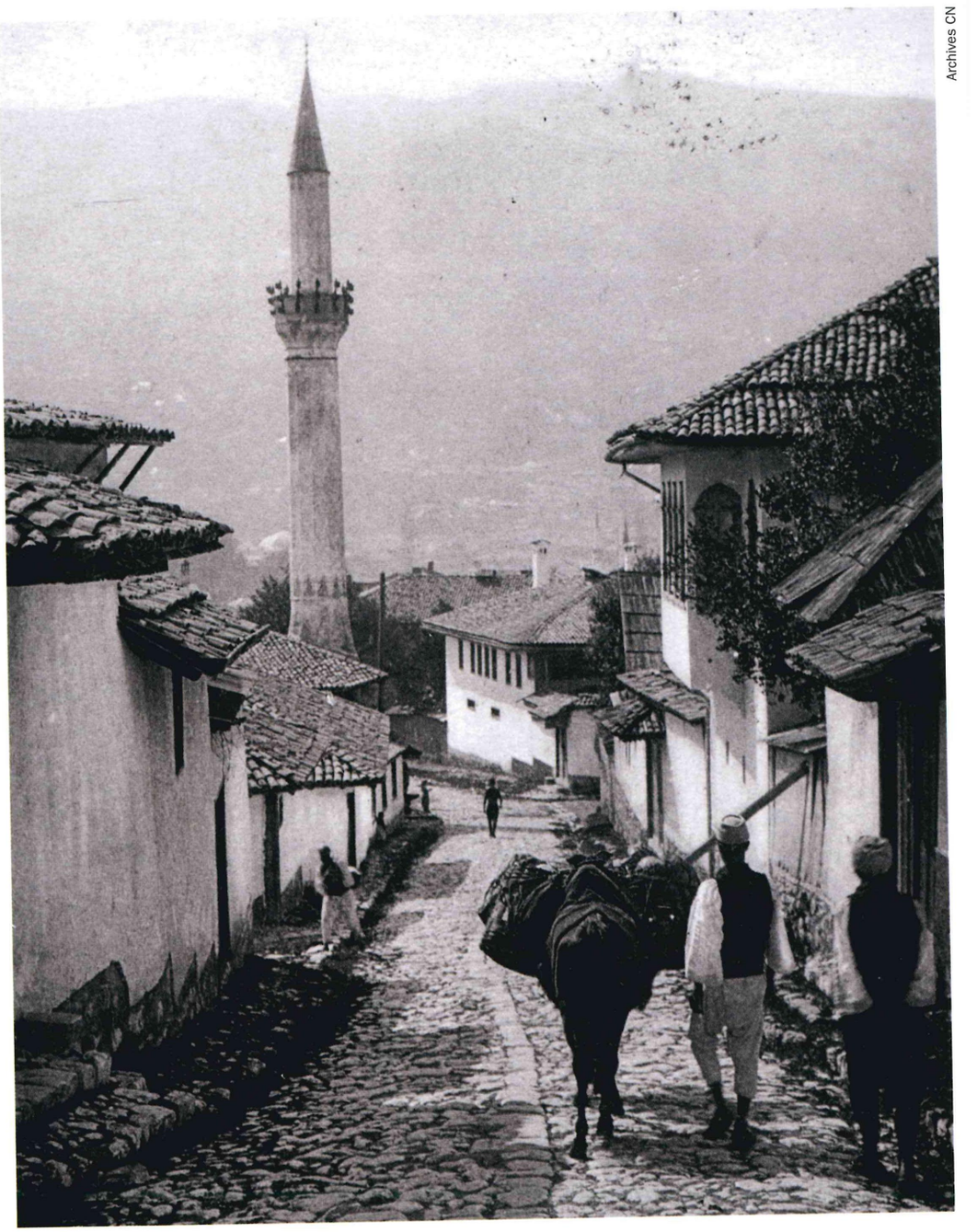
by Christoph Neumayer and Erwin A. Schmidl

'Bosniaks' – the word used to have a different meaning during the Danube Monarchy than today: it referred to the soldiers of the regiments and battalions recruited from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Until 1918 they enjoyed a legendary reputation, indeed even beyond the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. Who were the Bosniaks, whose very uniform, with the red fez and the baggy 'oriental' trousers, gave them an exotic air?

Although a peaceful occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina had first been reckoned on, the 'occupation campaign' of 1878 turned out to be anything but a 'flower parade'. Contrary to expectations, the Austro-Hungarian troops were not exactly welcomed and even the Franciscan friars working there were suspicious to begin with. It was only during the subsequent years of energetic, but benevolent 'colonial' administration by Austria-Hungary that the initial hostile-to-ambivalent stance of the population changed.

From the Occupation in 1878 to Orderly Administration

Although the majority of the Austro-Hungarian troops were withdrawn after autumn 1878, 50,000 men initially remained to secure the provinces. Administration was first the responsiblity of the army under the command of Feldzeugmeister Wilhelm Duke of Wurttemberg (1828-1896), who had led a corps during the occupation campaign. Subsequently, the administration was handled by the common k.u.k. Finance Ministry – one of only three common ministries, i.e. responsible for both halves of the empire, of the Danube Monarchy (the others were the War Ministry and the Foreign Ministry). At first glance, this construction seems strange, but it was chosen, on the one hand, because of the constitutional status of the occupied country (under the



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In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian administration was confronted with the enchantment of the Orient, which presented a fascination to many of the civil servants and members of the army from Austria. Ulica Sagrdžije in Sarajevo.

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View of Sarajevo from the fort, around 1910. The capital of Bosnia received a European and fin-de-siècle appearance during the Austro-Hungarian period after a series of new buildings had been constructed and investments made in the infrastructure.

nominal sovereignty of the Sultan) and, on the other, so as not to interfere with the sensitive balance of nationalities in the Danube Monarchy by adding Bosnia-Herzegovina to either the Austrian or Hungarian half of the empire.[1]

For the country, the four decades of Austro-Hungarian administration involved a remarkable surge of modernization in all fields of life. In a guidebook or travel report of 1897 there are the euphoric words, referring to the fact that in many respects the Austrian administration had resemblances to the colonial experiences of other countries:[2] '*What has been accomplished in this country is almost unprecedented in the colonial history of all peoples and ages*'.[3] Large-scale drainage and river regulation projects, for instance, created new agricultural crop land; between 1878 and 1898 alone agricultural output tripled. In 1914 there were already 107 agricultural co-operatives to facilitate the farmers' transition to modern agriculture.[4] The first railways – over 1,000 km of narrow gauge and 100 km of normal gauge – were built by the Austro-Hungarian administration.[5] Over the four decades the number of schools grew from 110 to 595 elementary schools and 21 grammar and other secondary schools. Compulsory education was introduced for all children, with the exception of Muslim girls. In 1879 the army already established a military boarding school for boys in Sarajevo. Due to the specific structure of the occupation the army also assumed responsibilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina normally performed by civilian authorities. There was, for instance, a separate k.u.k. Military Post and Telegraph Administration with 131 post offices throughout the country.

Building on the gendarmerie that had already existed under Ottoman government and including *serežani* (mobile border guards/police) from the former military frontier in Slavonia, a separate Bosnian-Herzegovinian gendarmerie corps was already formed in 1879.[6] The gendarmerie corps formed in 1849

Archives CN

The railway network in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1913. The Austro-Hungarian administration built more than 1,000 km of narrow-gauge and 100 km of normal-gauge railways. It was intended to accelerate expansion and build an additional 745 km of normal-gauge and 105 km of narrow-gauge railways.

Archives CN

The palaces of the Sarajevo provincial government were built in the Austrian state style.

Archives WA

The Austro-Hungarian administration displayed large-scale construction activity and set up countless public buildings such as offices, railway stations, barracks and schools.

Archives CN

The number of elementary schools had grown from 110 to 595 by 1914. Here the elementary school in Vitez.

belonged to the army in Austria-Hungary, but was organized separately for the Austrian and Hungarian halves of the empire after the 'Compromise' of 1867. As Bosnia-Herzegovina did not belong to either half of the empire, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian gendarmerie was a separate corps. It consisted of Bosnian volunteers and officers and enlisted personnel from the existing gendarmerie corps of Austria and Hungary.[7] In 1914 there were eight detachments ('wings') in Sarajevo, Travnik, Banja Luka, Bihać, Tuzla, Mostar, Trebinje and Goražde and 27 stations. The gendarmerie played a major role in securing and pacifying the country and in handling local administration.

As early as 1879 the Austro-Hungarian administration endeavoured to arouse the interest of the indigenous middle class in military service by establishing a military boarding school for boys in Sarajevo and providing basic education for entrance to a cadet academy or military grammar school. After initially being run as an elementary school with eight forms, the military boarding school for boys was reorganized in 1885 and then consisted of four age-groups corresponding to the four junior forms of a secondary school. However, the aim of winning over the local population to this type of education was only partly achieved, so that mainly the sons of civil servants, officers and military officials attended the school, apart from Bosnians. The pupils were uniformed according to special dress regulations (with the fez) and housed in two rented buildings in Sarajevo that had been adapted for the purposes of a school. The plans for a new building were no longer implemented. In the academic year 1913/14, 96 pupils attended the military boarding school for boys, including 18 Serbian Orthodox students, 10 Muslims, 60 Roman Catholics, 1 Greek Catholic, 5 Protestants and 2 Jews. Lessons were held by 13 secular and 5 religious teachers. At the beginning of the academic year 1914/15 the school was closed following mobilization orders.[8]

Archives WA

The railway lines in Bosnia and Herzegovina went through large stretches of mountains and were of strategic importance. Today some of the old railway lines have been turned into roads.

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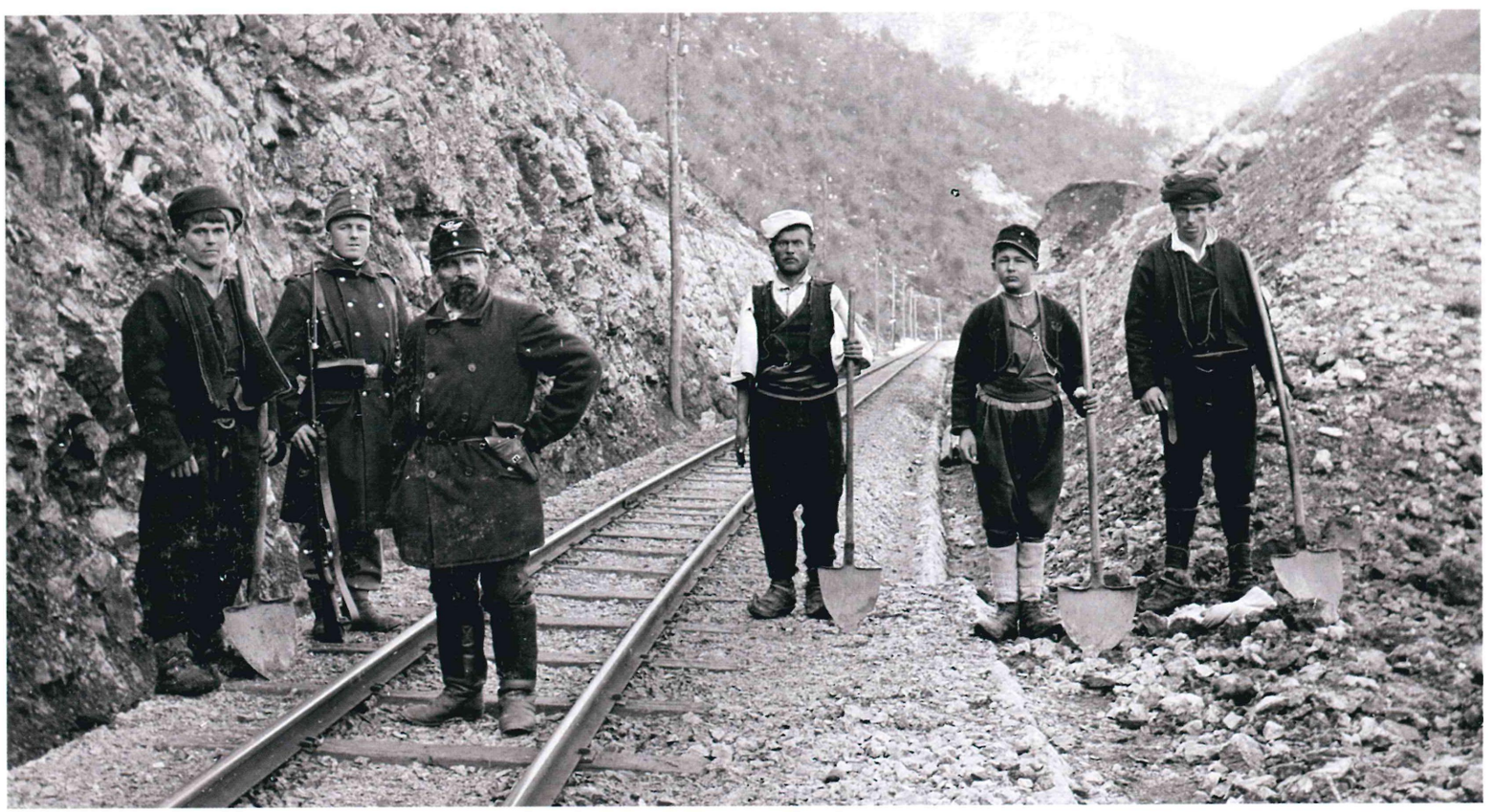


During the tensions prior to the First World War railway communications were accorded increased security. Here work on the railway line from Sarajevo to Pale in 1909.

Archives JS

Archives JS

In Sarajevo the k.u.k. Military Boarding School for Boys was established as early as 1879 so as to awaken the interest of the Bosnian middle classes in military service. The pupils were uniformed according to specific dress regulations and wore the fez, like Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops. In 1913/14, 96 students were attending the institution, which corresponded to a secondary school.

The Introduction of Universal Military Service in 1882

Although Bosnia-Herzegovina was nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian administration gradually came to encompass all spheres of life. The army was also included, on the one hand, in order to 'tap' the military resources of the country and, on the other, and perhaps even more important, because military service was also viewed as a tool of inculcation. In 18th-century Austria, a start had already been made to replace the traditional system of free recruitment by early forms of compulsory military service (conscription), following the Prussian example. The Army Act of 1868 made military service universal. Accordingly, all male citizens aged 20 were obliged to perform military service for three years in the regular army and then for nine years in the reserve or territorial army.[9] (However, for financial reasons the age-groups were never completely exploited.) So as to obtain the quantities of officers necessary for forming the mass armies to be set up on mobilization, school graduates and students could volunteer to attend a one-year special training course instead of the three years of normal military service. These 'one-year volunteers' were appointed reserve officers after passing the requisite examinations.

At the end of 1881 a provisional Army Act extended military service to Bosnia-Herzegovina.[10] This was not self-evident because the Bosnian soldiers nominally remained subjects of the Sultan, but served in the Austro-Hungarian army, something which was not exactly greeted with enthusiasm in Turkey. But the Bosnians themselves were anything but happy with this interference in their lives. In Herzegovina in particular veritable rebellions erupted against the introduction of military service at the beginning of 1882, which could only be put down with the help of the army. The Austro-Hungarian occupation troops, already reduced to 17,000 men in 1881, were brought up to over 62,000 men again. In January and February 1882, the rebels – partly led by leaders of the rebellion of 1875 and partly by members of the Muslim upper class – managed to occupy the Zagorje plateau east of Mostar, but the plan from there to interdict communications between Mostar and Sarajevo failed. At the end of February Austro-Hungarian troops forced the rebels to withdraw in a counteroffensive and secured communications between the towns.

Archives ON

Bosnian-Herzegovinian units started to be formed in 1882. In each of the four recruiting districts a company with a strength of 93 men and four officers was set up. As of 1883 a further company was added in each recruiting district every year.

Archives FR

The medical examination of conscripts. The introduction of military service initially led to unrest and a rebellion in Herzegovina. However, subsequently military service became largely accepted within a relatively short time.

It was only in spring 1882 that the majority of the country could be considered 'pacified'.[11] Ill-feeling among the population continued and about 8,000 Muslims emigrated to the Ottoman Empire.[12] But on the whole, the inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina accepted military service within a relatively short time.

The country was divided up into four recruiting districts: Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla and Mostar. In 1882 a company with an establishment of nearly 100 men (four officers and 93 other ranks) was formed in each recruiting district. The officers, NCOs and instructors came from the common (k.u.k) army.[13] They were supplemented by 25 recruits intended to be transferred later to the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina, but who were to receive their basic training in the respective Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry company.[14]

From the outset there were intentions to recruit prospective NCOs later in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. As of 1882, on the suggestion of company commanders Bosnian-Herzegovinian conscripts could be appointed corporals or junior NCOs by brigade headquarters and in special cases the normally prescribed minimum period of service could be waived. Apart from the four companies, Bosnian-Herzegovinian conscripts could also be posted to the k.u.k. transport corps, where they could similarly be promoted by the transport inspector.

Nevertheless, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were conceived of as a kind of 'territorial army'; the percentage of persons actually conscripted was significantly smaller than in the Danube Monarchy. The Bosniaks also swore a special oath,[15] taking the peculiar constitutional status of the occupied region into account.[16]

As of 1883, another company was formed from the new conscripts in each recruiting district. This system of a gradual build up was continued. In 1885 it became possible to form one battalion each from the existing four companies in each of the four recruiting districts. The plan to add one company per recruiting district every year went on. In 1894 there were already three battalions in each district, which were then formed into the separate Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments Nos. 1-4 (No. 1 Sarajevo, No. 2 Banja Luka, No. 3 Tuzla, No. 4 Mostar). In 1896 they were expanded by a battalion formed from the companies estab-

Archives WA

Towards the end of the 19th century the Balkans became more and more of a trouble spot. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the construction of fortified bases was intensified against threats from abroad.

The Formation of the Four Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments in 1894	
Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment	Formed from Battalions
No. 1 (recruiting district command Sarajevo)	No. 1 (formed 1885)
	No. 5 (formed 1889)
	No. 9 (formed 1892)
No. 2 (recruiting district command Banja Luka)	No. 2 (formed 1885)
	No. 6 (formed 1898)
	No. 10 (formed 1892)
No. 3 (recruiting district command Dolnja Tuzla)	No. 3 (formed 1885)
	No. 7 (formed 1889)
	No. 11 (formed 1892)
No. 4 (recruiting district command Mostar)	No. 4 (formed 1885)
	No. 8 (formed 1889)
	No. 12 (formed 1892)

lished in the meantime and thus had a peacetime establishment of 86 officers and 1,569 other ranks. In 1895 each regiment was given a regimental band.

In 1885, the chief of the general staff, Friedrich Freiherr v. Beck-Rzikowski submitted to the War Ministry his ideas on the further '*expansion of military strength in Bosnia-Herzegovina*'.[17] Apart from the four infantry regiments, four *Jäger* battalions, three squadrons of cavalry (a squadron was the equivalent of a company), three fortress artillery companies, two technical companies, two medical detachments and a transport squadron were to be recruited. In addition, there were also the cadres for four mountain transport squadrons to be formed in the event of war. In 1903 the War Ministry considered forming a fifth infantry regiment as well as a Bosnian-Herzegovinian cavalry division with three squadrons

Archives FR

The 'strange and oriental country', as Bosnia was seen at the time, had a special charm and offered interesting excursions. But for other ranks there were only few possibilities of entertainment in the country, particularly outside the towns.

and technical troops.[18] But all these ideas were not realized. However, in 1903 one company of each regiment (the 17th) was removed from the parent regiment and combined into a separate Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* battalion (recruiting district: Sarajevo). Despite their different designation – *Jäger* were originally light infantry largely recruited from hunters and foresters, hence the name (hunters) – the principle of 'standard infantry' was already established: *Jäger* only differed in name and uniform details (green instead of red collar tabs) from the infantry of the line. On the outbreak of the First World War a total of 10,156 men were serving in the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments (plus 21,327 reservists) and 434 men in the *Feldjäger* battalion (plus 1,208 reservists).[19] These figures correspond to nearly 5 percent of the overall strength of the common army. It was only during the First World War that further Bosnian-Herzegovinian units (both infantry and *Jäger*) were formed. It may be only a peripheral detail, but individual Bosnians also served in other units or branches and in the navy.

Although they were originally intended for local security missions (and funded from the revenue of the provincial government), only some of the Bosnian conscripts performed their military service in the country itself. Different battalions from Austro-Hungarian regiments were stationed in Bosnia-Herzegovina as occupation troops (usually for a year or more). Towards the end of the 19th century the Balkans developed more and more into a European trouble spot. Thus, the construction of fortifications and expansion of fortified bases in Bosnia-Herzegovina were not so much the expression of insecure conditions in the country itself – on the whole it was quite peaceful – but rather served the purpose of offering defence against a potential threat from abroad.

For many officers, being stationed in Bosnia implied a professional challenge and the opportunity to become acquainted with a 'wild' and 'oriental' country, to go hunting or undertake excursions. But other ranks often felt that the 'banishment' to Bosnia – with its concomitant long separation from family and friends – was a form of punishment under hardened circumstances and far away from home. Quarters that were frequently dingy in the first period did not help. As a travel writer wrote around the turn of the century, in eastern Herzegovina the Austro-Hungarian troops had contributed towards '*the great work of pacifying and civilizing these territories*', but had to '*live in squalor in complete isola-*

Archives WA

Many officers used their tour of duty in Bosnia and Herzegovina to go hunting: hunting party, 1907.

tion for weeks and months like a band of deserted castaways [...]; for want of sufficient funds the modest billets had to be *'free of cost'*, if possible, *'and the Austro-Hungarian soldier in the field can do anything if ordered'*.[20]

In return, as of 1891 Bosnian-Herzegovinian units were posted to different garrisons in the monarchy: first to Vienna and Budapest and later to Graz, Wiener Neustadt, Trieste and Bruck/Leitha. Transfers to the capitals and other major cities in the monarchy must have been a deliberate decision, on the one hand, in order to showcase the new provinces of the empire before the local population and, on the other, to impress the Bosniaks with the modernity of the cities. Today these postings would be termed an example of successful PR work. As Ferdinand Schmid worded it in 1914, the posting of Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops to Austria-Hungary was *'a measure that must certainly prove to be highly advantageous in the interests of more quickly adjusting the Bosnians to the civilization level of the monarchy'*.[21]

Moreover, the security factor spoke in favour of posting the Bosniaks into the interior of the empire. For although conscription in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not apply to all the persons available, the proportion of trained men under arms in the occupied region itself had reached such a dimension that in the view of the administration *'in the light of the experiences of 1882 [the rebellion after the introduction of conscription] such a large quantity of reservists and conscripts in Bosnia-Herzegovina is associated with a certain risk'*.[22] In a meeting of the Joint Council of Ministers on 28 April 1890, the common Finance Minister of Austria-Hungary, Benjamin von Kállay (1839-1903, Finance Minister 1882-1903) linked both factors – those of civilization and security – and argued in favour of garrisoning Bosnian troops in the interior of the Empire, *'[...] on the other hand, the concern cannot be excluded that, in the event that incursions should take place from Serbia or Montenegro to instigate unrest, the fully trained reservists, who have only served in the country itself and live dispersed everywhere, could form the nucleus of very effective guerrilla units. This concern might only be precluded if the troops were extracted from the atmosphere of their homes for some time during their period of service and garrisoned in the monarchy. These persons ought then to return with attitudes that would make attempts to mislead them into neglecting their duty completely futile'*.[23]

Archives WA

Excursion by other ranks of units of the k.u.k. army stationed in Bosnia. The troops are guided by a Bosnian soldier (centre right).

Bosniak Garrisons Outside Bosnia up to 1914

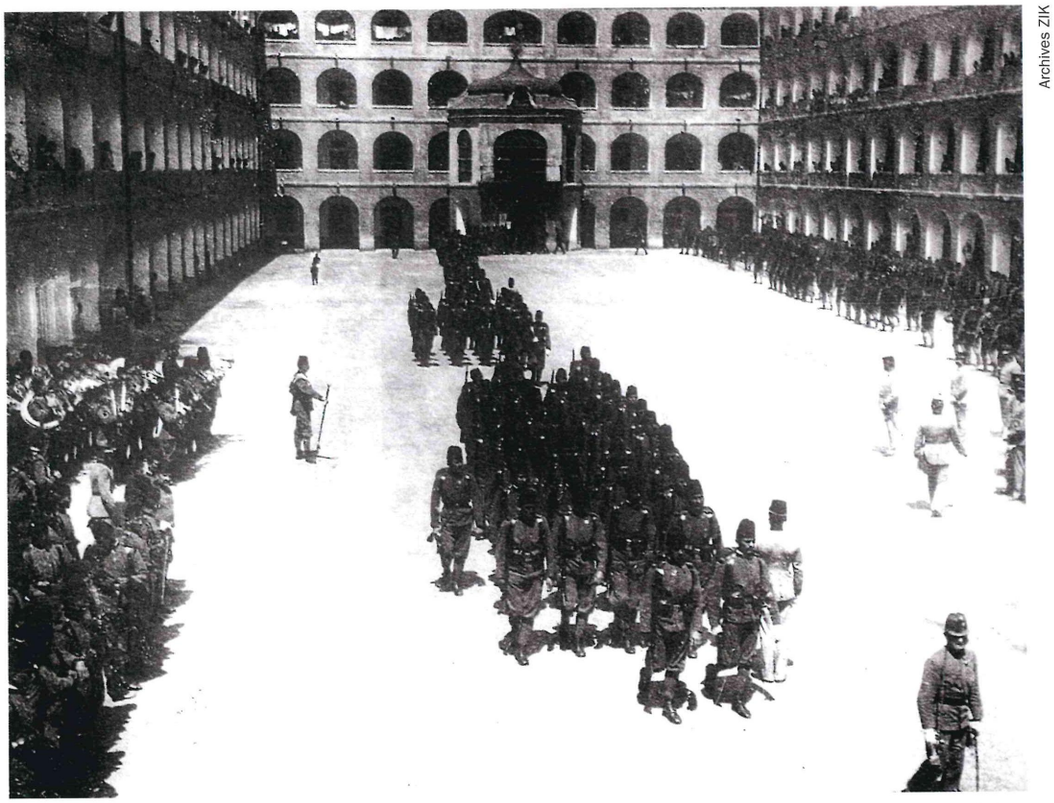
Thus it seemed sensible to post at least elements of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops to other areas of the monarchy. This constituted no legal problem for the Cisleithanian half of the empire, but it did for Hungary. A Hungarian law of 1608 prohibited the sojourn of foreign troops on sovereign territory. The relevant section of the law of this year (Article II) read: '*Hence it was decided that His Majesty the King [...] may not start a war or station foreign troops without the prior knowledge and consent of the people in Hungary and its incorporated parts*'.[24] In legal terms, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were considered foreign forces, as Bosnia-Herzegovina was officially still part of the Ottoman Empire and was 'only' administered by Austria-Hungary. The background of the discussions concerning the posting to Hungary was the fact that the Hungarian government feared a political debate if the troops were posted to the Hungarian half of the empire: the opposition, its associated media and large sections of the Hungarian population viewed the occupation of 1878 critically to negatively, not least because they saw in it a strengthening of the Slavic element in Austria-Hungary.

The common Austro-Hungarian Finance Ministry, responsible for the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had already taken the first initiative to solve the legal problem in spring 1886. But the Hungarian Council of Ministers turned down the posting to Hungary, once the Hungarian Justice Minister Teofil Fabiny (1822-1908; Hungarian Justice Minister 1886-1889) had explained that there was no law authorizing the placement of Bosnian troops on Hungarian soil. Thus, the topic became a matter for the Joint Austro-Hungarian Council of Ministers on 26 September 1886.[25] The Hungarian prime minister stated openly that he wanted to avoid a parliamentary debate on the subject, but that he was fully aware of the significance of a solution, also a legal one. It was only four years later, in 1890, that a further initiative by the common Finance Minister Benjamin von Kállay, supported by the common Foreign Minister Graf Gustav Sigmund Kálnoky (1832-1898, common Foreign Minister 1881-1895), managed to have a legal regulation approved in the Hungarian parliament allowing Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops to be stationed on Hungarian soil. Finally the bill was passed by the Hungarian parliament und took effect in law on 28 March 1891 as Legal Article VIII of 1891.[26]

Bosniaks in Vienna

Vienna, the capital and imperial seat, probably exerted the greatest attraction on Bosnians and Herzegovinians. Nevertheless, in terms of quantity the presence of Bosniaks remained small-scale and was mainly confined to the troops stationed in Vienna. In 1900, 2,240 Bosnians were living in Vienna, including 2,059 members of the army. When Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were transferred from Vienna to Wiener Neustadt and Trieste, the number of Bosnians in Vienna declined to 1,265, including 625 soldiers, in 1910.

The first Bosniak battalions were posted to Vienna in 1891. That year Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Battalions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 were stationed in Vienna. In 1892 and 1893 the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Battalions Nos. 5, 6 and 8 were garrisoned in Vienna.[27] As of the following year and with the formation of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments, Vienna became garrison to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 (formed from Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Battalions Nos. 1, 5 and 9) and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infan-



Archives ZIK

The courtyard of the old *Alserkaserne* in Vienna. The soldiers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments Nos. 1 and 4 were initially billeted here. From here the Bosniaks marched to castle guard duty, parades or internal security operations.

Archives CN

The Archduke Albrecht Barracks in Vorgartenstrasse housed the Bosniaks of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 before the First World War. Due to its angle to Ausstellungsstrasse the Bosniaks called it the 'Half-Right Barracks'.

Bosnians and Herzegovinians resident in Vienna		
1890	**1900**	**1910**
98	2,240	1,265
Army members:		
5	2,059	625
Civilians:		
93	181	640

Source: Rene M. Delannoy, Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 in Wien, in: *Statistische Monatsschrift*, Neue Folge, 17. Jahrgang (Brno 1912), 43.

Garrisons of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Units from 1894 until 1914		
Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1		
I Battalion	Vienna	
II Battalion	Vienna	1910/1911 Wiener Neustadt
III Battalion	Sarajevo	
IV Battalion	Vienna	After 1912 Wiener Neustadt
Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2		
I Battalion	Graz (after 1895)	
II Battalion	Graz (after 1895)	
III Battalion	Banja Luka	
IV Battalion	Graz (after 1897)	
Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3*		
I Battalion	Budapest	
II Battalion	Budapest	
III Battalion	Tuzla	
IV Battalion	Budapest (after 1896)	
Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4		
I Battalion	Vienna	After 1908 Trieste (one company in Capodistria/Koper)
II Battalion	Vienna	After 1908 Trieste
III Battalion	Mostar	
IV Battalion	Vienna	After 1908 Trieste
Bosnian-Herzegovinian Feldjäger Battalion (formed in 1903)		
Vienna	After 1907 Wiener Neustadt	After 1910 Bruck/Leitha

*Note: The 5th Field Company was in Derventa until 1896 and the 13th Field Company was in Doboj. Cf. *Rang- und Eintheilungsliste des b.h. IR Nr. 3 mit 1. Jänner 1896* (Budapest 1896), table of garrisons.

try Regiment No. 4 (formed from Battalions Nos. 4, 8 and 12).

Both infantry regiments were stationed in Vienna, with the exception of the III Battalion of each. These battalions remained in Bosnia: the III Battalion of the 1st Regiment stayed in Sarajevo and that of the 4th Regiment was in Mostar. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 took part in the spring parade on the Schmelz for the first time on 27 April 1895; a month later, on 28 May, Emperor Franz Joseph made his first detailed inspection.[28]

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 was stationed in Vienna until the outbreak of the First World War with the regimental staff and the I and II Battalions (the IV Battalion, originally also in Vienna, was located in Wiener Neustadt after 1912). In 1908 the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 was transferred from Vienna to Trieste.

In 1895 a regimental band was made standard for each regiment; the bands of the 1st and 4th Regiments were in Vienna.[29]

In 1903 a Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion was formed in Vienna from the 17th Field Companies of all four regiments. The battalion remained in Vienna until autumn 1907 and was then transferred to Wiener Neustadt and in 1910 from there to Bruck an der Leitha, where it remained until the outbreak of the war. The recruiting district of the *Feldjäger* Battalion was Sarajevo.

The *Alte Alserkaserne* (Old Alser Barracks) at Alserstrasse 2 served as the first Viennese quarters for the Bosniaks. The barracks, which had been built in 1751-1753, were finally taken over by the City of Vienna on 6 February 1909 and pulled down in 1912.[30] Then the Bosniaks moved to the Archduke Albrecht Barracks in Engerthstrasse in the 2nd district of Vienna. Because of its angle to Ausstellungsstrasse the soldiers called it the 'Half-Right Barracks'.[31]

In 1913, the regimental staff, the supply office, the administration office, the engineer detachment, Machine Gun Detachment No. I, the regimental band, the military surgeon and the sick bay were located in the staff building of the Archduke Albrecht Barracks in Engerthstrasse, whilst the I and IV Battalions occupied the housing block for other ranks next door in Vorgartenstrasse.

The II Battalion of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1, later also the IV battalion was stationed in Wiener Neustadt between 1910 and 1914. The battalion headquarters, Machine Gun Detachment No. II, the regimental surgeon and the 5th and 6th Companies were in the Arsenal Barracks (Neunkirchner Straße 23) or in the officers' quarters at Wiener Strasse 27. The 7th and 8th Companies were in the railway factory. The opportunity to house troops

in the old railway factory of Georg Sigl was presented when it was enlarged by a new building north of Pottendorfer Strasse and the old building was closed.[32]

The Bosnian-Herzegovinan *Feldjäger* Battalion kept the supply depot in the north wing of the still extant *Rossauerkaserne* at what was then called Elisabethpromenade 1 (today Rossauer Lände 11) until 1914.[33] The battalion staff, the adjutant's office, the supply office, the bursar's office, the senior surgeon, the engineer officer and the machine gun detachment were stationed in Bruck an der Leitha, at Haydngasse 2, whilst the 1st and 2nd Companies were in a Nissen hut camp.[34]

The Bosniaks with their oriental-looking baggy trousers and fez acquired a permanent position in Viennese popular imagination after the 1890s. This impression was created mainly by their guard duty in the Hofburg, their participation in the spring parades on the Schmelz and a few instances of internal security deployment.

The Bosniaks, like the other units garrisoned in Vienna, not only took part in the annual spring parades on the Schmelz, but also did guard duty as part of the Viennese castle guard and in front of the War Ministry, Am Hof, and later on the Ringstrasse. A series of photographs document the guard duty of the Bosniaks: photographs taken for postcards, but also ones taken by pioneers of photography around the turn of the century, such as Dr. Emil Mayer. The changing of the castle guard with the so-called castle concert was among the most colourful everyday scenes in the city centre. Many onlookers, including the usually unemployed teenagers popularly called *Pülcher*, accompanied the soldiers marching in and away. The castle guard and the castle

Archives CN

Troops of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 march into the Franzenshof of the Hofburg from the gate in Schauflergasse for the changing of the castle guard, accompanied by the regimental band.

Archives CN

The changing of the castle guard with the so-called 'castle concert' was one of the most colourful everyday scenes in the city centre of Vienna and accompanied by many onlookers. The Bosnians are formed up for relief.

concert found a ready market as motifs (e.g. on postcards). In the years prior to the First World War 54 officers and other ranks were attached to the main castle guard per watch, which – accompanied by the regimental band – marched in two double rows into the inner castle courtyard (Franzenshof) through the gate in Schauflergasse. Only after a few pieces of music had been played, did the guard change.[35]

But the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops in Vienna were also employed for internal security duty, e.g. during the so-called 'inflation riots' in 1911. Their cause was primarily the increase in foodstuff prices – occasioned by crop failures and high world market prices – and rents. In 1909 and 1910 disproportionate price increases came about for bread and other foodstuffs like meat. The imports of cheap Argentine meat were revoked by the government on the pressure of Hungarian magnates and Austrian landowners. In the late summer of 1911 the crisis further deteriorated and on 17 September 1911 a mass demonstration organized by the Social Democratic Party of Vienna took place on the Ringstrasse and in front of the City Hall, in which about 36,000 to 40,000 persons took part according to newspaper reports. For the 17 September protest the Social Democratic Party of Vienna had not arranged any stewards or mandatory departure routes, but the governor's office had taken extensive security precautions.[36]

When the first instances of vandalism occurred, the Viennese security authorities requested army support. A battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 was employed both in the city centre and in Ottakring together with detachments of the k.u.k. Infantry Regiment No. 24, the *Hoch- und Deutschmeister* (Infantry Regiment No. 4) and uhlans, dragoons and hussars, first against demonstrating workers, then against rioters. On 18 September 1911, under the headline 'An arrest', the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* reported, '*Four persons were arrested in Thaliastraße. A Bosniak with bayonet at the ready walked ahead, followed by an officer, then two rows of Bosniaks, then the men arrested, each of them flanked by two guards and at the back two rows of mounted men*'.

Archives SR

The Bosnian soldiers in the capital Vienna emanated an oriental atmosphere, which was enhanced by their uniform. Bosnian guard in the inner castle courtyard.

Archives SR

Guard duty was also performed in front of the War Ministry. Three Bosniaks on sentry duty, in the centre a drummer of the regimental band.

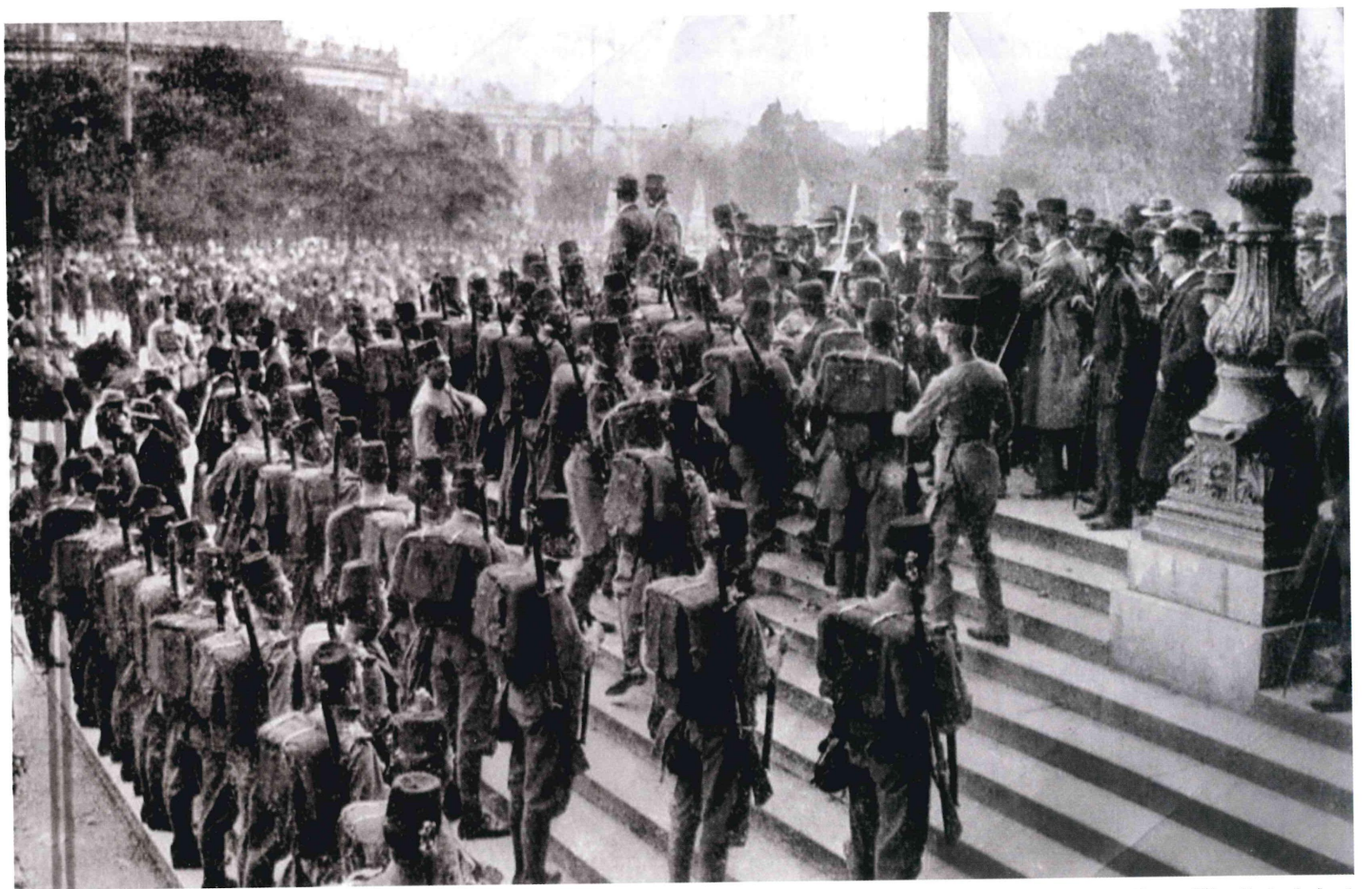
Moreover, at Kreitner- and Klausgasse the Bosniaks blocked Koppstrasse and access to the house of the people in Ottakring (Kreitnergasse 29-33).[37] As the Social Democratic deputy to the Imperial Assembly Albert Sever (1867-1942) remembered on the occasion of the 20th anniversary in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of 13 September 1931: *'Then evening came, the house of the people was completely isolated from the outside world by military personnel, mainly Bosniaks. The streets were dark, as almost all the gas lights had been broken'.*

The Bosniaks were mentioned by name in the criticism levelled by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* against the alleged brutality of the army and the security forces. When the demonstrators came too close to the Bosniaks, *'they were hit by them with rifle butts'*. In the understanding of the papers, the Bosnian infantry had already acquired a reputation for a certain toughness earlier. In 1900, for instance, *Die Fackel* had published the following commentary on incidents with Bosnian soldiers in Vienna:[38]

The constitutional question as to whether Bosnian regiments may be stationed in Austria and 'employed' against the German population during political demonstrations has often been asked since the revolt in Graz [in 1897 Bosnian soldiers had been used against demonstrators during the Badeni riots], negated by interjections in parliament, but not seriously answered by any lawyer.

For a few days at any rate it has been beyond doubt that the Bosniaks have retained a certain animosity towards the peoples of Austria, which sometimes produces a salutary effect, if their 're-employment' has been retained as an option. Agitated Bosniaks being escorted by policemen through the streets of crowded districts run out of the ranks one after the other, slap passers-by in the face and can only be restrained with difficulty from expressing their irrepressible desire to cause severe bodily harm to the population of Vienna. Whoever was not attracted by the noise on the street learned subsequently from the papers about the subjugation of Bosnia and became acquainted with all the stages of agitation into which the inhabitants of the second and ninth districts were

Archives VGA



Demonstrations and riots because of inflation, 1911. Bosniaks on the steps of Vienna City Hall before deployment. In the politically turbulent years before the First World War the army repeatedly had to be summoned for internal security duty, including Bosniak units in Vienna and Graz.

recently put. And after every slap administered by his soldiers the lieutenant leading the strange procession shouted in regret 'Complain to the Bosnian provincial government!' Now, I think Mr. Kallay can be of no assistance here. The considerations of representing a 'nation already placed under arms' with dignity prevent him from doing so, and he is just as reluctant to denude Bosnia of hack writers as Austria of Bosniaks.
These were the words written in Karl Kraus' periodical *Die Fackel* on the discussion concerning the presence of Bosnian troops in the interior of the empire and their internal security duties.

A Mosque for Vienna

A major project directly connected to the employment of Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops in the Austro-Hungarian army and garrisoning them in Vienna was never realized: the construction of a representative mosque for the Muslim troops and citizens of Bosnia in the capital Vienna. There had already been initial ideas about building a mosque in Vienna around the turn of the century. Emperor Franz Joseph is said to have donated 25,000 gold crowns for its construction.[39] Prayer rooms for Muslim soldiers had been set up both in the old *Alserkaserne* and in the Archduke Albrecht Barracks.
The last verifiable initiative to set up a mosque in Vienna occurred in 1918. An action committee headed by Theodor von Liebig[40], a member of the House of Peers resident in Wipplingerstrasse, had taken on the task of implementing the idea. The initiative itself to build a mosque had come from the War Ministry. When Emperor Karl was presented the plan to build the mosque in May 1918, 260,000 crowns had already been collected to purchase a building site and the City of Vienna was prepared to dedicate a plot of land in Türkenschanzpark or Maria Josepha-Park, today's Schweizergarten in front of the Arsenal, for putting up a mosque.[41]
In a talk to Emperor Karl in Baden on 30 May 1918, Liebig argued in favour of building a mosque by mentioning the military alliance with the Ottoman Empire, but also expressly as '*showing recognition for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops who have loyally and utterly performed their duty in the heavy fighting of this war*'. In addition, in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself a feeling of togetherness would be strengthened as well as the awareness '*that the population of Austria-Hungary and particularly that of Vienna show genuine sympathy for the religious convictions of the youngest members of the monarchy*'. Emperor Karl agreed to the plan, made reference to '*the laudable conduct of the inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the battlefield and at home*' and instructed Finance Minister Burián to promote the realization of the project. Karl himself donated 30,000 crowns of his private assets to the building fund on 24 July 1918.
On 12 July 1918 the War Ministry had already had an announcement included in the military headquarters' order of the day and read to all soldiers of the Muslim faith. It also stated: '*Soldiers! [...] As this fact [the construction of the mosque] is conducive to prove to you once more how much the population of the monarchy is devoted to their youngest fellow citizens, it will undoubtedly give you great pleasure to hear that His k.u.k. Apostolic Majesty has had the grace to donate a very substantial sum of money for the construction of the mosque. His Majesty wishes that you see in it a sign of His recognition of the courage and loyalty you have demonstrated in this truly holy war. His Majesty, the illustrious and righteous protector of all the denominations represented in his countries, knows that he can rely on His Mohammedan soldiers and that, loyal to their sworn oath, they will always fight with the utmost contempt for death against those foes against whom His august ally, His Majesty the Sultan and Caliph has also called upon all the Mohammedans of this Earth to fight. For the Mohammedans of Austria-Hungary the mosque in Vienna will be a permanent memorial to the great age when they found God's mighty help for their arms, shoulder to shoulder with the other subjects of His Majesty*'. The collection for the mosque in Vienna continued until the end of the war. In the war archives in Vienna a postal order can be found from the defence district of Avtovac amounting to 633 crowns, which was paid to Theodor von Liebig on 7 October 1918. The conclusion of the war and the disintegration of Austria-Hungary put an end to the idea. It was to take until the 1970s for the first mosque to be built in Vienna.

The Bosniaks in Graz

But the Bosniaks were not welcomed everywhere. In Graz, for instance, there were initially violent protests and demonstrations against the 'foreign occupants', which are quite reminiscent of ongoing debates concerning immigration and foreigners. The background was that the Bosniaks became involved in the nationalist conflict centring on Badeni's language decree in 1897.
As of 1895, Graz was the garrison of the staff and the I and II Battalions of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. In 1897, the IV Battalion was also added, whilst the III Battalion remained in Banja Luka. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were housed in the Small (old) Dominican Barracks (Kernstockgasse 11/Dreihackengasse 1) and in the Large

As of 1895 parts of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 were posted to Graz. Armband with the abbreviation 'BH IR 2'.

Archives ZIK

In 1897 the Bosniaks became involved in the sometimes violent Badeni disturbances in Graz. After people had been killed during an internal security operation, there was a hostile campaign in the media. Pan-Germans demanded that the Bosniaks be transferred. The heated atmosphere only gradually cooled down. In 1908, however, veterans of the occupation campaign and Bosniaks had this group photograph taken.

Archives ZIK

The 7th Company of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in 1914 with *Major* Schneider in front of the Large Dominican Barracks.

Archives ZIK

In Graz the Bosniaks were garrisoned in the Small and Large Dominican Barracks. There was a coffee house and a prayer room for Muslims in the courtyard of the large Dominican Barracks.

(new) Dominican Barracks (Grenadiergasse 14). In 1908 a prayer room and a coffee house for Muslims were set up in the classroom and NCOs' residential building in the courtyard of the new Dominican Barracks.[42] During the First World War the regiment was transferred from Graz to the training camp about 20 km south in Lebring in 1915.

Hardly in any other garrison did the Bosnian-Herzegovinian soldiers cause perceptions of hostile aliens as much as in Graz.[43] As early as 21 November 1897 Bosniaks were deployed to maintain order during a workers' demonstration against a Christian-Social Party event; a demonstrator was wounded by a bayonet thrust and died later.[44] Shortly afterwards the Bosniaks became involved in the violent riots following the so-called Badeni language decree of 1897 and became the playthings and victims of Pan-German and Social Democratic propaganda.[45] The Badeni language decree issued by Prime Minister Kasimir Graf Badeni on 5 April 1897 for Bohemia and on 22 April 1897 for Moravia provided for bilinguality both in internal and external correspondence; all civil servants were to provide evidence of oral and written command of both languages (Czech and German) within four years (by 1 July 1901).[46] In it the German nationalists saw the discrimination against German civil servants in comparison with Czech ones and, indeed, an attack on the leading role of Germans in the monarchy. Countless demonstrations were the consequence.

In the course of these riots elements of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in Graz were also employed for internal security purposes. On the evening of 27 November 1897 an ominous incident occurred: in Murgasse, demonstrators, Pan-Germans students and workers, threw stones at a detachment of Bosniaks. The soldiers used their firearms and fired a salvo. One demonstrator, the worker Josef Retter, was killed and another seriously wounded and a further 20 were injured. Among the Bosniaks the majority of the officers and 30 men were injured by stones and had to be taken to the garrison hospital.[47]

The incident was followed by a month-long press campaign against the Bosniaks, pursued mainly by the Pan-German *Grazer Tagespost* and the Social Democratic *Arbeiterwille*. An open-air concert held by the regimental band on Burgring in Graz on 29 November 1897 was disrupted by demonstrators throwing stones at the musicians and threatening them. When they were withdrawing, the Bosnian soldiers used their bayonets. The funeral of the worker Josef Retter, who had been killed during the demonstration in Murgasse and who had fallen foul of the law many times before his participation in the demonstration, developed into a major Pan-German and Social Democratic demonstration, including tens of thousands of the citizens of Graz, also local celebrities, headed by the mayor of Graz.

Great pressure was exerted on the proprietors of inns no longer to entertain Bosniak officers and many assaults are recorded on Bosnian enlisted personnel in November and December 1897.[48] On 1 December 1897 the city council of Graz unanimously passed an emergency motion expressing misgivings '*that a Bosnian regiment is garrisoned here in the provincial capital of Graz, although it is well known that our home-grown infantry regiment took such an excellent part in the bloody occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina*'.[49] In the Imperial Assembly the delegate Dr. Hofmann von Wellenhof stated expressly on 4 December that '*the city council*' advocated '*transferring the Bosnian regiment away from Graz as soon as anyhow possible*'. He went on to ask the question whether it was constitutionally permissible to employ Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops in such a way in Austria at all. The War Minister Edmund Edler von Krieghammer (1832-1906; War Minister 1893-1902) replied in the Imperial Diet on 7 December 1897: '*As regards the Austrian army in its polyglot composition, I can give the assurance that every regiment, wherever its other ranks are recruited, always performs its duty against internal and external enemies of the monarchy and that in this respect no difference can be made whether the regiment comes from the south or the north of the Empire, or which language it speaks. Similarly, in*

Archives ZIK

In 1895 a regimental band was made standard for every Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiment, i.e. a total of four, which were stationed in the respective garrisons in the interior of the monarchy.

the army every nationality is equally respected and loved. No officer knows a distinction in nationality'.[50]

In March 1898 another attempt failed to allow the band of the Bosniaks to perform for a charitable purpose. The atmosphere was aggravated by the demotion of 33 Graz students – all of them reserve officers – who had taken part in the funeral for Josef Retter. When, on 17 May 1898, a 'shared' concert by the regimental bands of the Styrian Infantry Regiment No. 47 and the Bosniaks was to take place in the beer hall in Steinfeld, about 400 students had already gathered there to demonstrate against the Bosniaks. The crowd swelled to about 5,000 persons and riots developed, so that half a company of Bosniaks had to be called in to secure the exit of the bands. 21 men were hit by stones and six injured.

Further calls to transfer the Bosniaks were subsequently expressed by radical circles in Graz and submitted to the city council. Even in the Imperial Diet another enquiry was made to War Minister Krieghammer, who, however, on 26 May 1898 made it clear that he saw no necessity to intervene and certainly not in the way desired by the Pan-Germans.

As of 1900 – that year precautions had to be taken to maintain order and security during a concert held by the regimental band of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in Mariatrost – the domestic political situation gradually calmed down, so that the rejection of Bosnian troops in Graz decreased. On 25 May 1902, Bosniaks took part in the unveiling of the obelisk at the junction of Joanneumring-Neutorgasse-Radetzkystrasse-Wielandgasse in commemoration of the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The regimental band also participated in the Corpus Christi procession of 1903.[51] Photographs and newspaper reports document the participation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops and the regimental band in the celebrations of Emperor Franz Joseph's 60th crown jubilee in December 1908 and in the solemn unveiling of the 'Hackher Lion' on 17 October 1909.[52]

Bosniak Regimental Bands

The more and more popular concerts held subsequently by the Bosnian-Herzegovinan regimental band under their

Archives FR

After 1900 the concerts and performances of the regimental band of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 made a significant contribution towards the public acceptance of the Bosniaks in Graz.

The Military Band Leaders of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments 1895-1918

Name (dates)	Regiment
Franz Bem (1872–1930)	BH IR No. 1
Ferdinand Domansky (1877–1947)	BH IR No. 1
Karl Franz (1870–1952)	BH IR No. 3
Christoph Fuchs (b. 1871)	BH IR No. 4
Josef Gedenk (1870–1929)	BH IR No. 3
Franz Lehár sen. (1838–1898)	BH IR No. 3
Franz Lehár jun. (1870–1948)	BH IR No. 3
Johann Pavlis (1858–1915)	BH IR No. 4
Eduard Wagnes (1863–1936)	BH IR No. 2

Source: Emil Rameis, *Die Österreichische Militärmusik: Von ihren Anfängen bis 1918* (Tutzing 1976), 163-166, 173, 175, 179.

The regimental bands were fully aware of their popularity among the population. Record of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 in Vienna: '*Kauft Blumen*' (Buy flowers).

Seal of the 4th Field Battalion of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2.

band leader Eduard Wagnes (1863-1936) certainly contributed towards easing tensions. Wagnes, who had been born in Graz, composed a series of popular marches, including the often quoted and played march 'The Bosniaks are coming', composed on the occasion of the reception of the Bosniaks in his hometown in 1895. During the concerts at Hilmteich, in Stadtpark or in Augarten he performed a series of his own compositions (sometimes for the first time ever), including marches such as 'Bosna Selamlik', composed of Serbian, Croat or Turkish motifs, and also used for marching past.[53] The events of the First World War inspired the composition of the 'Meletta and Flitsch March'. His estate reveals Wagnes to have been an excellent military band leader and an especially creative composer.[54]

However, prejudices against and distance to the Bosniaks, who were accused of particularly rough behaviour, persisted among large sections of the population, not only in Graz, but also, for instance, in the industrial centres of the Mur and Mürz valleys, where the Bosniaks were employed to maintain order against workers in 1917/18. It was only the experiences of the First World War, the special valour of the 'Graz' Bosniak regiment and the gaze back from the second half of the 20th century that focussed on the positive aspects of living together with the Bosniaks. On the other hand, Graz had traditional relations to south-eastern Europe. As a university city Graz had always exerted a special attraction on this region. During the Austro-Hungarian Empire the University of Graz was one of the three universities of the monarchy most frequently attended by Bosnians.[55]

Archives CN

The march 'Die Bosniaken kommen', composed by the Graz-born Eduard Wagnes, the band leader of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2, became highly popular. A succession of other marches followed, which also extolled the exploits of the Bosniaks in the First World War.

Bosniaks in Budapest

In 1891 single battalions of Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry were posted to Budapest at the same time as Vienna. The first was the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Battalion No. 1 for a year, followed by Battalion No. 7 in 1892. In 1894, Infantry Battalions Nos. 3 and 11 were added. In January 1894 these battalions – Nos. 3, 7 and 11 – formed the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3, which officially had its peacetime garrison in Budapest after autumn 1894. Only the III Battalion of the Regiment remained stationed in Tuzla.[56]

The regimental staff and the II and IV Battalions were quartered at Nándor-tér 2 in the Ferdinand Barracks (later Nándor Barracks), built in classicist style on Castle Hill in 1847. Prior to the outbreak of the First World War the I Battalion was billeted in the Graf Szapáry Barracks in Retek Utca.[57]

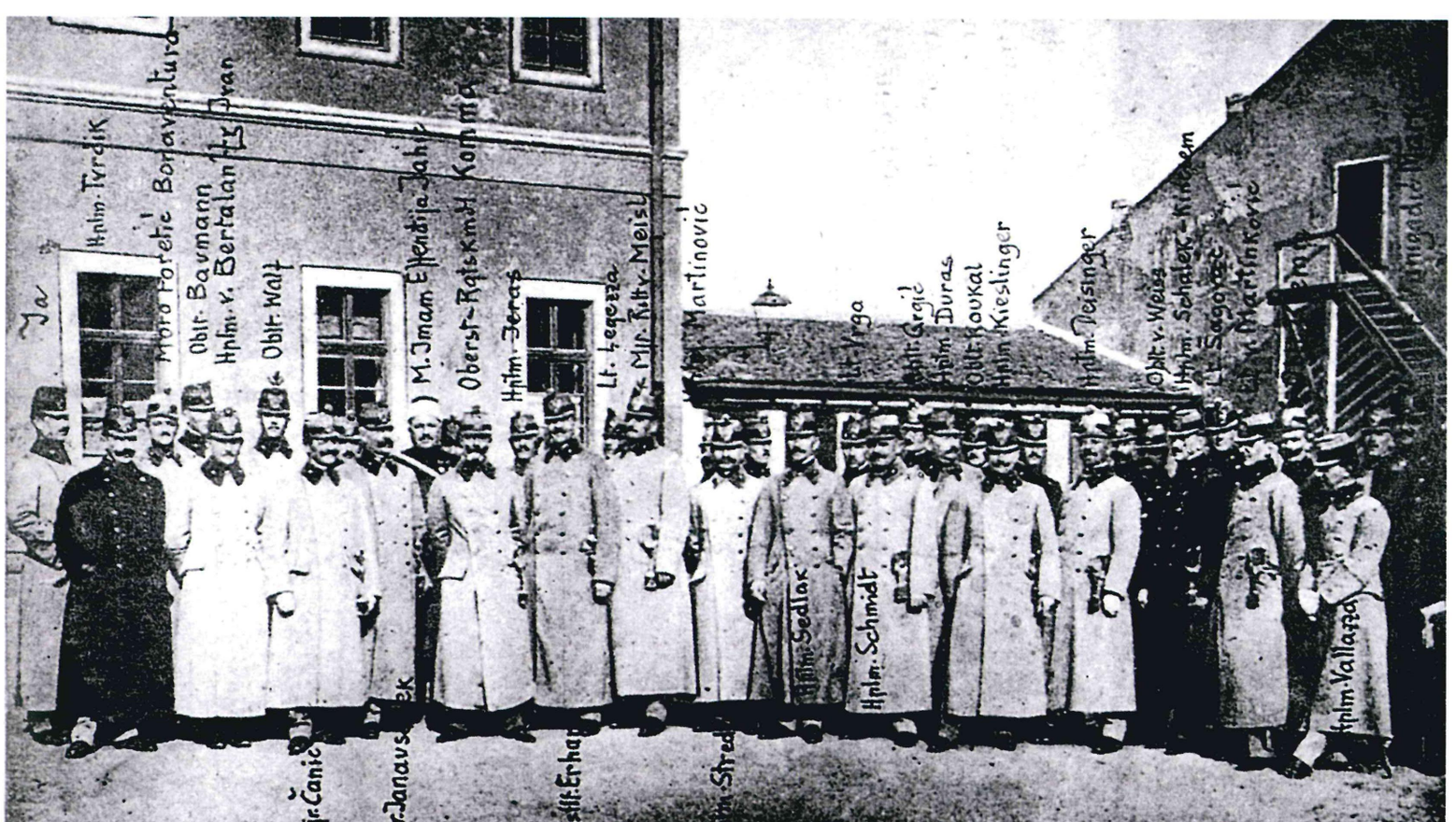
As in Vienna, during the more than 20 years of their posting to Budapest the Bosniaks became part of the local colour. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 remained a military factor in the Hungarian capital until the revolution of 1918. A square and a street were already named after the Bosniaks in 1900. Pero Blašković (1883-1945), attached to the Third Bosniaks in Tuzla and Budapest as an *Oberleutnant* after 1913, wrote the following remarks about 28 June 1914, the day of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. For the Bosniaks it was a typical Sunday in early summer Budapest. *'We Bosniaks of bh IR No. 3, dressed in our wonderful blue tunics [...] flooded the corso in Pest, the "Vaci utca Dunapart", as did the others, the more dignified and bourgeois soldiers, up there in Buda, the "Bastyaut". Our regimental band was playing there. [...] At half past twelve, with empty stomachs, [...] we gathered again at the Ferdinand Barracks in Buda. [...]Our spirited conversation was suddenly interrupted when our old, stern, but exceptionally elegant and springy Oberst Komma [the regimental commander] came into the officers' mess. 75 pairs of officers' heels clicked together and then all of us took seat at the table. Our usual Sunday fare of ragout soup, poulard with salad and apple strudel was soon taken. As it was Sunday, we did not stay in the mess talking, reading the papers or playing billiards or tarot, as we did during the week, but all hurried home to have a rest or enjoy the Sunday. [...] It was louder than usual, there was commotion and jostling, and the traffic was also busier than usual. Leaflets were being distributed. [...] Two officers of my regiment were sitting in a large automobile and they gave me a lift. [...]The*

Archives SR

The first Bosniak battalions were stationed in Budapest after 1891. When the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 was formed, it had its peacetime garrison in the Hungarian capital, with the exception of the III Battalion (Tuzla).

Archives CN

In Budapest the Bosniaks were billeted in the classicist Ferdinand Barracks on Castle Hill, today the Hungarian Army Museum.



Archives CN

The officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 in the courtyard of the Ferdinand Barracks before the outbreak of the First World War. Photograph taken by Bosniak *Oberleutnant* Pero Blašković.

officers were collecting the musicians of our regiment, who were playing in three pubs, to take them to the barracks. State mourning had been ordered.'[58]

It took a month until Blaškovič left Budapest for Tuzla together with 18 officers and 172 NCOs to collect the 'wartime regiment': *'On the morning of 27 July 1914, I led the elite part of our regiment out of the barracks: 18 young officers intended to lead 18 transports from Tuzla to Budapest and almost all the NCOs available to the regiment. Over night they were all issued the new pike-grey uniform and it was a delight to watch all the Bosniak NCOs, tall and straight, marching erect to Joszef Station to the sound of the best infantry band. The windows were opened and sleepy faces appeared everywhere. Many women threw flowers and I heard many sounds of 'O ho' from the column'.*[59]

As in Vienna, there were thoughts about building a mosque in Budapest after the outbreak of the First World War. Although a special building committee was set up in 1916, the plans were implemented as little as they were in Vienna.[60] The same year Islam was recognized as a religion in the Hungarian half of the Empire.[61] In this case, too, the main political reasons for this legal step were quoted as the alliance with the Ottoman Empire and the loyalty and courage demonstrated by the Bosniaks.

At the beginning of 1918, a charitable 'Bosniak' event took place in Budapest; Angolpark was decorated with emblems and trophies, the entire regimental band of the Third Bosniaks played in the Large Concert Hall, Bosnian badges and postcards were sold and a fund-raising dinner was arranged with the aid of artists. A total of 160,000 crowns was collected for the widows' and orphans' fund of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3.[62]

That the Bosniaks were considered particularly reliable and enjoyed the special respect of the Hungarians and Hungarian politicians until the very final days of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is shown by the fact that during the revolution at the end of October and beginning of November 1918 the middle-class Hungarian National Committee under Mihail Károly (1875-1955) repeatedly feared that Bosnian troops would be employed against Hungarian soldiers sympathizing with the revolution and that 'Hungarian blood' would be shed.[63] Blašković remembers that the Bosniaks obeyed their officers until the very end: *'That's the way it was with us in the cadre in Budapest, after*

Archives HGM

Reserve Military Imam, Hilmi Hussein Durics (seated centre with overcoat), here photographed during the First World War, was one of the leading Muslim personalities in Budapest during the interwar years.

the collapse. Complete chaos broke out. Only the Bosniaks maintained order and protected Hungarian state property. For this purpose they kept the Hungarian Bolshevist units under guard in the Bosnian barracks'.[64]

Former members of Bosnian units also played a role in Hungary in the years following the First World War: a few hundred Bosniaks, mainly Muslims, fought in armed units against Communist troops under Béla Kun and distinguished themselves in the border fighting against Austria for the Burgenland, particularly during the events surrounding the referendum on the national affiliation of Ödenburg or Sopron. The former reserve military Imam, Hilmi Hussein Durics from Bosna Krupa, moved from Vienna to Budapest in 1920 and was to play a role as a leading Muslim personality, as the so-called '*(Grand) Mufti of Budapest*', in the inter war years.

The Fourth Bosniaks in Trieste

From 1908 until the outbreak of the First World War Trieste was the garrison of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4. During this period the regiment was billeted in the barracks in Via Coroneo 4. The rambling barracks complex between Via Coroneo, Via G. Corducci and Via Fabio Severeo, with the Piazza d'Armi in the centre, was destroyed during the Fascist regime, with the exception of the Palace of Justice not yet completed in 1918, and replaced by new, monumental buildings.

Archives CN

Postcards show the diversity of the ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was also mirrored in the composition of units.

Archives MCO

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were commanded by officers from the whole of the monarchy. 82 % of them had German as their mother tongue. Summer manoeuvres in the Waldviertel, around 1900.

Regimental and Battalion Commanders of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Units in the k.u.k. Army

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1	
Oberst Victor Barleon	March 1898 – October 1903
Oberst Artur Ritter von Dąbrowski	October 1903 – January 1907
Oberst Alfred Schenk	January 1907 – March 1911
Oberst Karl von Stöhr	March 1911 – September 1914
Oberstleutnant Philipp von le Beau[2]	September 1914 – December 1914
Oberst Albert Reymann[2]	December 1914 – January 1915
Oberst Josef Blum[2]	January 1915 – February 1915
Oberst Anton Lešić	February 1915 – June 1916
Oberstleutnant/Oberst Ludwig Rath	June 1916 – July 1917
Oberst Markus Gjebić-Marušić	July 1917 – June 1918
Oberst Oskar Planiscig	June 1918 – November 1918

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2	
Oberst Johann Schiebel	1895 – March 1899
Oberst Lukas Sertić	March 1899 – October 1900
Oberst Alexander Secsujatz von Heldenfeld	October 1900 – February 1903
Oberst Johann von Ljusutina	February 1903 – August 1904
Oberst Siegmund Ritter von Benigni in Müldenberg	August 1904 – April 1907
Oberst Stefan Kolarević	April 1907 – February 1910
Oberst Karl von Blazeković	April 1907 – October 1911
Oberst Ernst Kindl	October 1911 – August 1914
Major Boguslav Ritter von Mihalić[2]	August 1914 – November 1914
Oberstleutnant Hugo Schotsch[2]	November 1914 – January 1915
Oberst Otmar Babić	January 1915 – August 1915
Oberst Ivo Ritter von Mihailić	August 1915 – January 1918
Oberstleutnant Karl Graf von Coudenhove[2]	January 1918 – June 1918
Oberst Wolfgang Heller	June 1918 – November 1918

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3	
Oberst Heinrich Radanovich	1894 – June 1899
Oberst Theodor Freiherr Halbhuber von Festwill	June 1899 – June 1901
Oberst Anton Schneider	June 1901 – May 1905
Oberst Karl Marić	June 1905 – July 1907
Oberst Franz Ledl Edler von Iserberg	July 1907 – May 1910
Oberst Georg Komma	October 1910 – July 1914
Oberst Johann Brenner von Flammenberg	July 1914 – August 1914
Oberstleutnant/Oberst Karl Hofmann	September 1914 – October 1914
Oberst Karl Stutz	October 1914 – July 1915
Oberstleutnant Ludwig Krause[2]	July 1915 – August 1915
Oberst Friedrich Tomanek Edler von Beyersfels	August 1915 – October 1915
Oberstleutnant/Oberst Karl Hofmann	October 1915 – January 1917
Oberstleutnant/Oberst Ernst Ritter von Meissl	January 1917 – November 1918

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4	
Oberst Eduard Žeravica	1897 – July 1902
Oberst Franz Fritsch Edler von Falkenklau	July 1902 – July 1907
Oberst Rudolf Vuković von Podkapelski	July 1907 – September 1909
Oberst Johann Hubl	October 1909 – October 1912
Oberst Anton Klein	October 1912 – October 1914
Oberst Arnold Barwik	October 1914 – October 1915
Oberstleutnant Leo Kuchynka	October 1915 – December 1917
Oberstleutnant Eugen Krippel[2]	December 1917 – April 1918
Oberstleutnant Leo Kuchynka	April 1918 – November 1918

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 5	
Oberstleutnant Ernst Kopfstein	September 1916 – October 1916
Oberstleutnant August Planiscig	October 1916 – October 1917
(in October 1917 converted to Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 10; in February 1918 newly formed)	
Oberstleutnant/Oberst Emil Vidalé	February 1918 – November 1918

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 6	
Oberst Karl Lanna von Monte Rombon	February 1918 – July 1918
Oberstleutnant Slavoljub Milojević[2]	July 1918 – August 1918
Oberstleutnant Emmerich Maly[2]	August 1918 – November 1918

Regimental and Battalion Commanders of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Units in the k.u.k. Army

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 7	
Oberst Karl Turčić	February 1918 – April 1918
Oberstleutnant Markus Dolić[2]	April 1918 – June 1918
Oberst Philipp von le Beau	June 1918 – July 1918
Oberst Maximilian Freiherr von Catinelli	July 1918 – August 1918
Oberst August Kotik	August 1918 – November 1918
Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 8	
Oberstleutnant/Oberst Maximilian Freiherr von Gussich	February 1918 – June 1918
Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 10	
Oberstleutnant/Oberst August Planiscig	October 1917 – February 1918
(disbanded in February 1918)	
Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 1	
Oberstleutnant Josef Marjanović	October 1903 – October 1906
Major/Oberst Karl Heisegg	October 1906 – March 1914
Oberstleutnant Wladimir Terbojević	March 1914 – August 1914
Hauptmann Hektor Traversa[2]	August 1914 – December 1914
Hauptmann Robert Deitl[2]	December 1914 – January 1915
Major/Oberstleutnant August Planiscig	January 1915 – October 1916
Hauptmann Franz Lochert[2]	October 1916 – November 1916
Hauptmann/Major Robert Deitl	November 1916 – September 1917
Major Julyus Dvořak	September 1917 – January 1918
Hauptmann Emil Edler von Chmela	January 1918 – November 1918
Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2	
Oberst Adolf Ritter Kurelec von Boine-mir	August 1915 – November 1915
Hauptmann/Major Michael Minić	November 1915 – July 1917
Hauptmann/Major Zdenko Thour	July 1917 – September 1918
Major Rudolf Diappa von Zvonigrad	September 1918 – November 1918

Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 3	
Hauptmann/Major Robert Schroll	August 1915 – September 1915
Hauptmann Johann Krzysztoforski[2]	September 1915 – January 1916
Oberstleutnant Ludwig Stressler	January 1916 – April 1916
Major/Oberstleutnant Otto Riedl Edler v. Leuenstern	April 1916 – June 1918
Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 4	
Major/Oberstleutnant Julyus Matičević	February 1916 – April 1917
Hauptmann Karl Freiherr von Spens-Booden[2]	April 1917 – October 1917
Oberstleutnant Josef Kremžar	October 1917 – December 1917
Oberstleutnant Peter Gall	December 1917 – May 1918
Hauptmann Egon Jeschke[2]	May 1918 – June 1918
Hauptmann Eduard Boroša[2]	June 1918 – September 1918
Major Dušan Mirković	September 1918 – November 1918
Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 5	
Hauptmann/Major Richard Fóris	February 1916 – October 1917
Major Eduard Lehmann	October 1917 – January 1918
Oberstleutnant Gustav Laa	January 1918 – February 1918
(disbanded in February 1918)	
Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 6	
Major/Oberstleutnant Slavoljub Milojević	February 1916 – February 1918
(disbanded in February 1918)	
Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 7	
Major/Oberstleutnant Adolf Czapek	February 1916 – February 1918
(disbanded in February 1918)	
Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 8	
Major Wilhelm Goliasch	February 1916 – January 1917
Hauptmann Rudolf Butzke	January 1917 – May 1917
Major Artur Ritter Broschek von Boroglav	May 1917 – February 1918
(disbanded in February 1918)	

1 Georg Zivkovic, Eine Ergänzung zu Wredes Geschichte der k. u. k. Wehrmacht, Selbstverlag Wien 1977

2 Interim

The Composition of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Units

As basic constitutional rights were guaranteed in Austria after 1867, in Bosnia-Herzegovina the members of all ethnic groups were called up for military service in equal measure; there were no formations segregated by religion (or ethnicity). According to Austro-Hungarian statistics, 39.7 % of the soldiers were Greek Orthodox (or in today's understanding Serbian Orthodox), 31.4 % Muslim and 25.4 % Roman Catholic. There were also Greek Catholics (2.8 %), Jews (0.5 %) and Protestants (0.2 %).[65]

The religious needs of soldiers were catered for by assigning chaplains of different denominations and appointing military imams; religious rules (e.g. as regards nutrition) were respected wherever possible.[66] In peacetime there was one military imam per regiment with the rank of captain; in 1914 there were four of them.[67] By 1918, a military mufti 2nd Class had been appointed, Hafiz Abdullah Effendi Kurbegovic of the 1st Regiment, as well as 98 (!) military imams (93 of them for the duration of the war). The Islamic marriage laws also applied to members of the army. When the military imam, Hadzi Mehmed Effendi Kokić, died in Sarajevo in 1888, a one-time pension amounting to three times his last salary was paid *'in equal proportions'* to his two widows, Mija and Fata.[68]

Today we are accustomed to dividing up the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina into three 'ethnic groups': Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats and 'Bosniaks', or Bosnian Muslims, as the current terms read. For this reason the question seems obvious as to how the Bosnian-Herzegoninian units in the k.u.k. army were composed. But the question cannot be conclusively answered using source material, primarily because these definitions from the end of the 20th century had a different significance a hundred years ago. The classification according to religion has already been mentioned. The Austro-Hungarian statistics also recorded a division according to 'nationality', but this was determined by mother tongue and, as Croat, Serb and Bosnian were not counted separately, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops appear remarkably homogeneous: about 95 % of the other ranks had one of them as their mother tongue! In addition, the members of other linguistic groups constituted a minority: the lists show 2.3 % Germans, 1.9 % Czechs and some Slovenes, Hungarians and Poles.[69] These persons were probably largely soldiers, the majority of them NCOs, who had been transferred to the Bosniaks from other parts of the monarchy.

These figures apply to other ranks including NCOs. The officers came from the whole of the Danube Monarchy. In the four infantry regiments the majority of the professional officers had German as their mother tongue (and the majority probably came from today's Austria or the German-speaking areas of today's Czech Republic or Slovenia) and amounted to 82 %, followed by Croat or Serb speakers with 8 %, Czechs and Hungarians with 3 % each and Slovenes with 1.4 %. In the

Archives ZIK

The courage and heroism of the Bosniaks have frequently been praised. *Zugsführer* Dukić of the 13th Company of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 was awarded the Gold Medal for Bravery in October 1914.

Feldjäger Battalion, on the other hand, there were only 33.3 % German Austrians, but 37.1 % Croats/Serbs, followed by 18.5 % Hungarians, 7.4 % Czechs and 3.7 % Poles. In terms of religion, Catholics were in the majority (85.3 % or 77.8 % in the *Jäger*) in front of Greek Orthodox (8.1 % or 18.5 %), Protestants (5.7 % in the infantry regiments) and members of other religions. Prior to 1914 there were only few Muslims among the professional officers.

On the other hand, members of other religions appear more frequently among reserve officers and officer candidates, e.g. 13.7 % Jews and 2.4 % Muslims. Reserve officers were usually school or university graduates and here the composition of the middle class was mirrored in the army. By virtue of its supra-national loyalty to the Emperor and the dynasty the k.u.k. army remained largely unaffected by the nationalist extremes that simultaneously prevailed in civilian life and it was thus considered a 'refuge of tolerance'. Nevertheless, it is striking that it took a number of decades for Muslim officers to be trained and assigned to units.

The valour and contempt for death of the k.u.k. Bosniaks have often been praised. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2, for instance, is considered the most highly decorated regiment of the First World War. Now the question should not be discussed as to what extent such figures say anything about the quality of soldiers, not to mention their cares and needs in wartime, nor how serious such an enumeration of decorations can be at all (in the light of the mass allocations that repeatedly took place). 'Bosnian' virtues, from the particularly martial disposition of the mountain people up to loyalty to their oath beyond denominational and ethnic borders, have sometimes been endeavoured to attempt to explain this 'characteristic valour'. But these clichés are '*far from the mark*', as Professor Alfons Dalma emphasized during the annual 'Meletta ceremony' in Graz in 1987.[70] Popular stereotypes ('only loyal to their officers and the Emperor', 'unfathomable Easterners', 'fellows with eagles' faces' etc.), which can sometimes be found in unserious literature, do not do justice to this question either. As in all other units, the Bosniaks also included more or less courageous individuals, and it would be historically incorrect to pass over the sometimes existing ethnic tensions in silence (from the final phase of the First World War it is reported, for instance, that Bosniak patrols had to be formed of all three ethnic groups so that they could watch one another).

On the other hand, the positive experience of the Austro-Hungarian administration after 1878, with its improvements in many spheres of life, certainly helped cement the Bosniaks' loyalty to the Habsburg Empire. Without wanting to glorify anything here, the revival of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian identity – such as had last existed before the conquest by the Ottomans in the 15th century – and integration in Europe undoubtedly ranked among the lasting legacies

Archives FR

The officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 say goodbye to their commander *Oberst* Anton Lesić (centre with overcoat) in June 1916. He commanded the regiment from February 1915 to June 1916.

of the four decades of Austro-Hungarian rule in the country. In addition, there was the general, supra-national identity within the common army with its sense of belonging, comradeship and tolerance standing above ethnic rivalries.

The Annexation of 1908

Whereas the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina remained largely stable, the Balkans became a trouble spot at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The Powers of the European Concert – Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia – endeavoured, on the one hand, to calm down the situation in south-eastern Europe, but, on the other, contributed to an escalation with their power-political interests and differences. The Ottoman Empire was weakened by internal problems and the antagonisms between the awakening nationalities, whereas the Balkan states (Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia), partly independent and still partly nominally belonging to the Ottoman Empire, often pursued aggressive foreign policies.

A grave crisis came about in 1908. The revolution of the Young Turks, a political reform group, plunged Turkey into a severe crisis. The neighbouring countries seized the opportunity of the moment. Bulgaria, formally still a principality obliged to pay tribute to the Ottoman Empire, became independent as a kingdom. Austria-Hungary annexed the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had merely been occupied in 1878, thus constitutionally making them into parts of the Danube Monarchy. This measure – equally ineptly handled by both the foreign ministers of Austria-Hungary and Russia, Aloys Lexa Baron Aehrenthal (1854-1912) and Alexander Petrovitsch Izvolsky (1856-1919) – was successful, but severely disgruntled the other European powers and constituted an important stepping stone on the way to the outbreak of war in 1914.[71] Turkey was aghast at Austria-Hungary's unilateral action and it proved little help that in 1908 Austria-Hungary terminated its military presence in the region of Sandžak Novipazar,[72] adjacent to the south (in which Austro-Hungarian troops had been stationed since 1879, although the region continued to be administered by the Ottoman Empire. Then Sandžak was divided up between Serbia and Montenegro in 1913.) However, the annexation did not change much as regards the domestic situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina; it remained a special administrative district.[73]

For the k.u.k. Bosniaks these decisions implied that they now formally became citizens of the Danube Monarchy and subjects of Emperor Franz Joseph. But in practice little changed: even before 1908 they had only been subjects of the Ottoman Empire on paper. It can be said of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian soldiers in particular and justifiably that their loyalty belonged to the Emperor in Vienna

Archives WA

In the course of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria-Hungary terminated its military presence in Sandžak Novipazar and handed it over to the Ottoman Empire in 1908. The official transfer ceremony.

even before 1908. However, in legal terms a certain special status continued to exist, although the Bosniaks were an 'organic part' of the Austro-Hungarian army after October 1908.[74] The day of the annexation, 7 October 1908, was laid down as the commemoration day for all the Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments.

In terms of military structure, three of the regimental districts of Bosnia (Sarajevo = Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1, Banja Luka = No. 2, Tuzla = No. 3) subsequently formed XV Corps with its headquarters in Sarajevo. On the other hand, together with Dalmatia (recruiting district of common army Infantry Regiment No. 22), Herzegovina (recruiting district of Infantry Regiment No. 4) belonged to XVI Corps with its headquarters in Ragusa (today Dubrovnik in Croatia).[75] As has already been mentioned, most Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops continued not to be garrisoned in the country itself, but in different cities of the Danube Monarchy.

Although in 1914 only four Bosnian-Herzegovinian battalions were stationed in the country itself, XV Corps headquarters was located in Sarajevo with three divisions, nine mountain brigades and two artillery brigades.[76] The Austro-Hungarian troops amounted to a total of 56 infantry battalions,[77] two cavalry squadrons and seven artillery regiments. This impressive array illustrates just how much Bosnia-Herzegovina was seen to be threatened on the eve of the First World War. Contemporaries described Bosnia-Herzegovina before the war as '*an armed camp*' facing the crises in the immediate neighbourhood.

The annexation of 1908 formed the basis for a more thorough integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Danube Monarchy than before. Apart from the already mentioned Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments and the *Feldjäger* Battalion, the k.u.k. army gradually began recruiting soldiers for other units.

These were not units expressly designated 'Bosnian-Herzegovinian' – the soldiers did not wear the fez – but some of the recruits came from Bosnia-Herzegovina and for this reason they should be mentioned. Apart from Sapper Battalion No. 7, Transport Division No. 15 was also stationed in Sarajevo, whereas Engineer Battalion No. 15 was garrisoned in Marburg (Maribor in Slovenia). Moreover, the army ran separate Bosnian-Herzegovinian stud farms and a stud farm for mules in Goražde.

All of this shows that the special and independent character of the 'Bosniaks' was in the process of disappearing after 1908. It can only be surmised what the development in the military and civilian sectors would have looked like, had it not been interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1914 and then by the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At least the units formed in Bosnia (in particular Herzegovina), Dalmatia and Croatia can be seen as indicators of an intended gradual integration of Bosnia in both halves of the empire.

Archives CN

Bosnian delegation paying homage to Emperor Franz Joseph in Vienna in 1908 on the occasion of the annexation.

Common Army Units Partly Recruited from Bosnia-Herzegovina	
.	The battalion-sized Independent Mountain Gun Division, formed in 1913, with its staff in Sinj, was recruited from the entire area of XVI Corps (Herzegovina and Dalmatia);
.	Sapper Battalion No. 7, formed in 1912, was stationed in Sarajevo and contained enlisted personnel from Bosnia and Transylvania;*
.	Train Division No. 15 (in today's nomenclature a transport battalion) was established with personnel from XV and XIII Corps, i.e. from Bosnia and Croatia;
.	Engineer Battalion No. 15, only formed in 1914, was also recruited from XV Corps (Bosnia).

*Note: These were the corps areas VII Temesvar/Timisoara and XII Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt/Sibiu. At that time Transylvania was part of Hungary. Sappers were specialized engineers, named after 'saps', trenches and communication routes in siege warfare.

Archives WA

Only the III Battalions of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments remained in Bosnia itself. March past by the III Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in Sarajevo in front of *Oberstleutnant* Johann Spindler von Narentafels, 1913.

Archives WA

In the years before the First World War there was a total of three divisions, nine mountain brigades and two artillery brigades in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The III Battalion of the k.u.k. Infantry Regiment No. 49 'Freiherr von Hess' from St. Pölten, lined up above Sarajevo, in the left background the Provincial Museum, completed in 1912.

Visit: Emperor Franz Joseph in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Archives WA

In 1910 Emperor Franz Joseph visited the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been annexed two years before, to stress their new status as integral parts of Austria-Hungary. Arrival at Bosanski Brod station and reception by Mayor Mehmet Hadži Hodžić.

Archives PC

Sarajevo station. Welcome committee of the heads of the administration. The representatives of the three major religious communities awaiting the Emperor's arrival (from left to right): the Muslim dignitaries with *Reis-ul-Ulema* Hafiz Sulejman Šarac, the Serbian Orthodox clergy with the Metropolitan of Sarajevo Evegenij Letica and Roman Catholic clergy with Archbishop Josip Stadler.

Archives PC

Emperor Franz Joseph with his retinue, including the common Finance Minister Freiherr István Burián, responsible for Bosnia, wearing Hungarian magnates' uniform (third from the right, behind the Emperor).

Archives WA

Emperor Franz Joseph gives a short address to the assembled dignitaries of the City of Sarajevo, headed by Mayor Esad Effendi Kulović (1859-1917). Kulović was mayor between 1905 and 1910, hailed from an established Janissary family and was a member of the progressive Muslim circles in Bosnia.

Archives WA

Departure from the marquee at the station for the city centre.

Archives PC

Emperor Franz Joseph's drive to the city centre through the decorated streets. Directly behind the Imperial carriage, guards cavalrymen of the *Leibgarde* Cavalry Squadron.

Archives WA

The *konak*. The official residence of the provincial governor and Franz Joseph's quarters during his stay in Sarajevo.

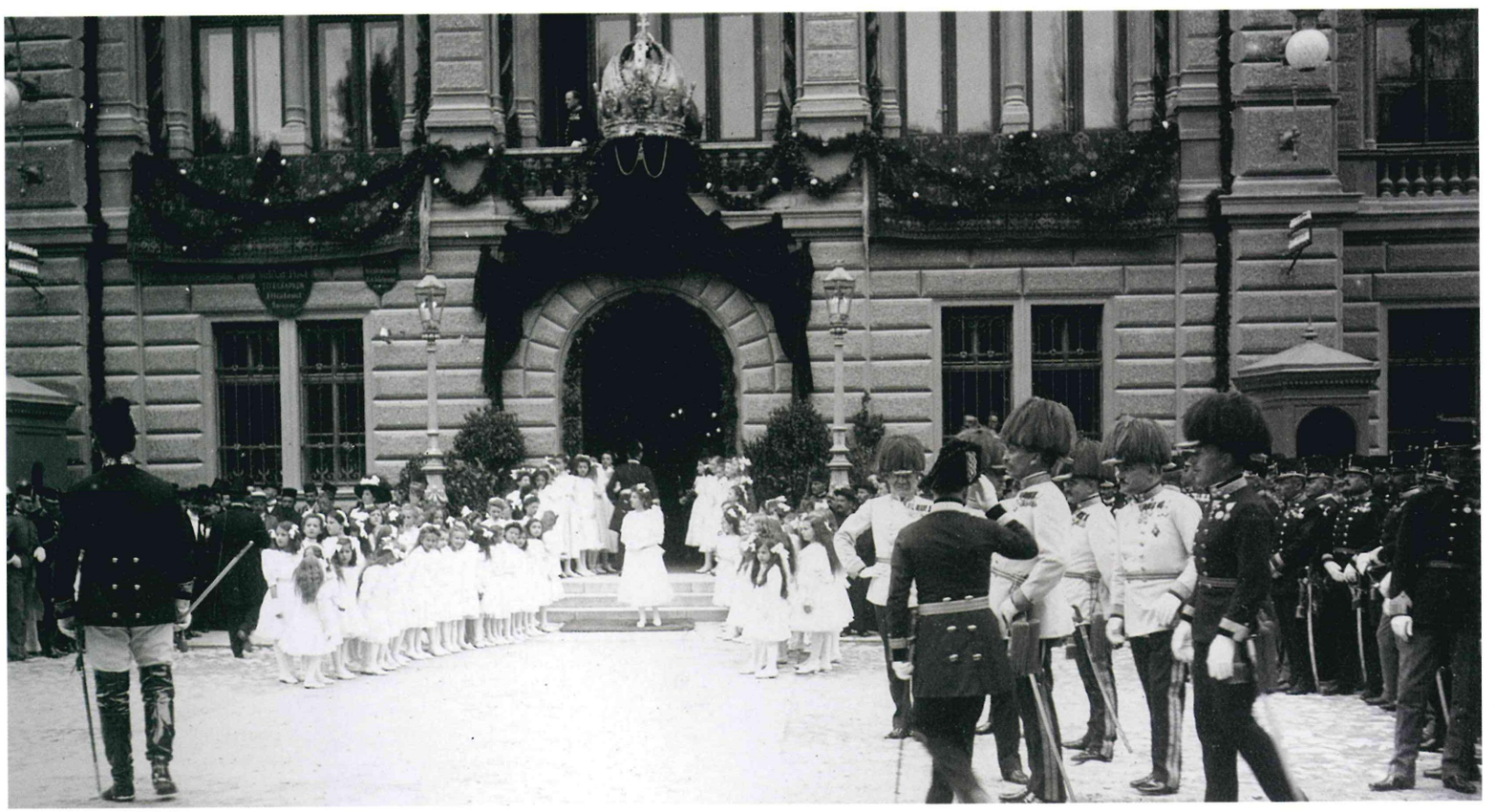
Archives WA

Franz Joseph's bedroom in the *konak* with the simplicity he liked.

Archives WA

The oriental old town of Sarajevo, the *Čaršija*, decorated in expectation of the Emperor's visit.

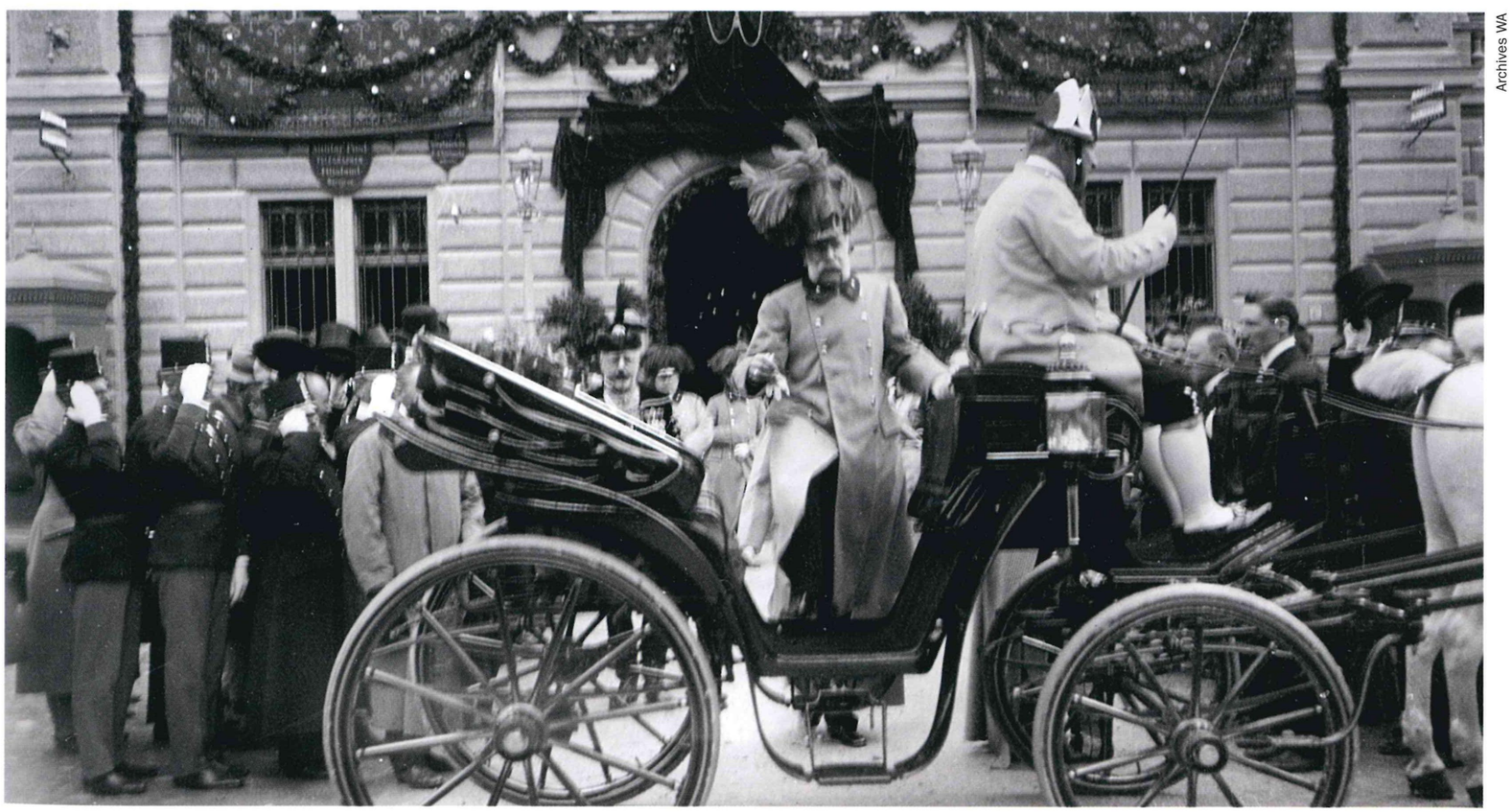
Archives WA



In line the daughters of provincial civil servants await the Emperor in front of the palace of the provincial government, where Franz Joseph held audience.

Archives WA

Guards of the *Arcieren-Leibgarde*, officers and civil servants during the audiences in front of the building of the provincial government.



Archives WA

After the audiences Emperor Franz Joseph leaves the building of the provincial government and departs by carriage.

Archives WA

The Emperor surrounded by officers directly before the troops march past outside Sarajevo.

Archives PC

Emperor Franz Joseph waiting for the march past, in the background the packed stand.

Archives WA

Bosnian peasants on the railway line to Mostar waiting for the Imperial train to pass by.

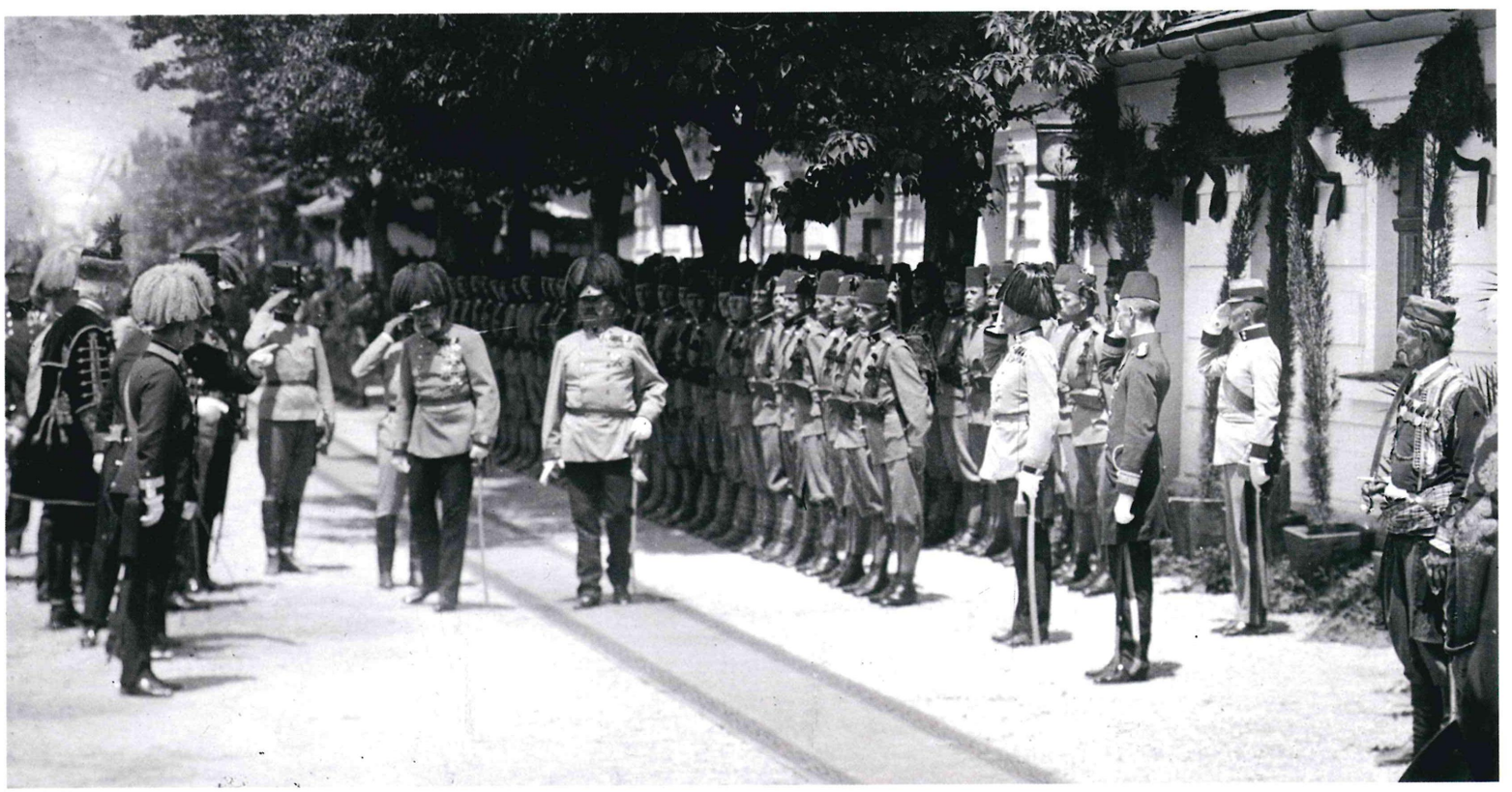
Archives WA

Stop-over and reception for the Emperor at Jablanica.

Archives WA

The reception in Mostar. Children from Alibeg Kapetanović's family have prepared bread and salt to welcome the Emperor.

Archives PC



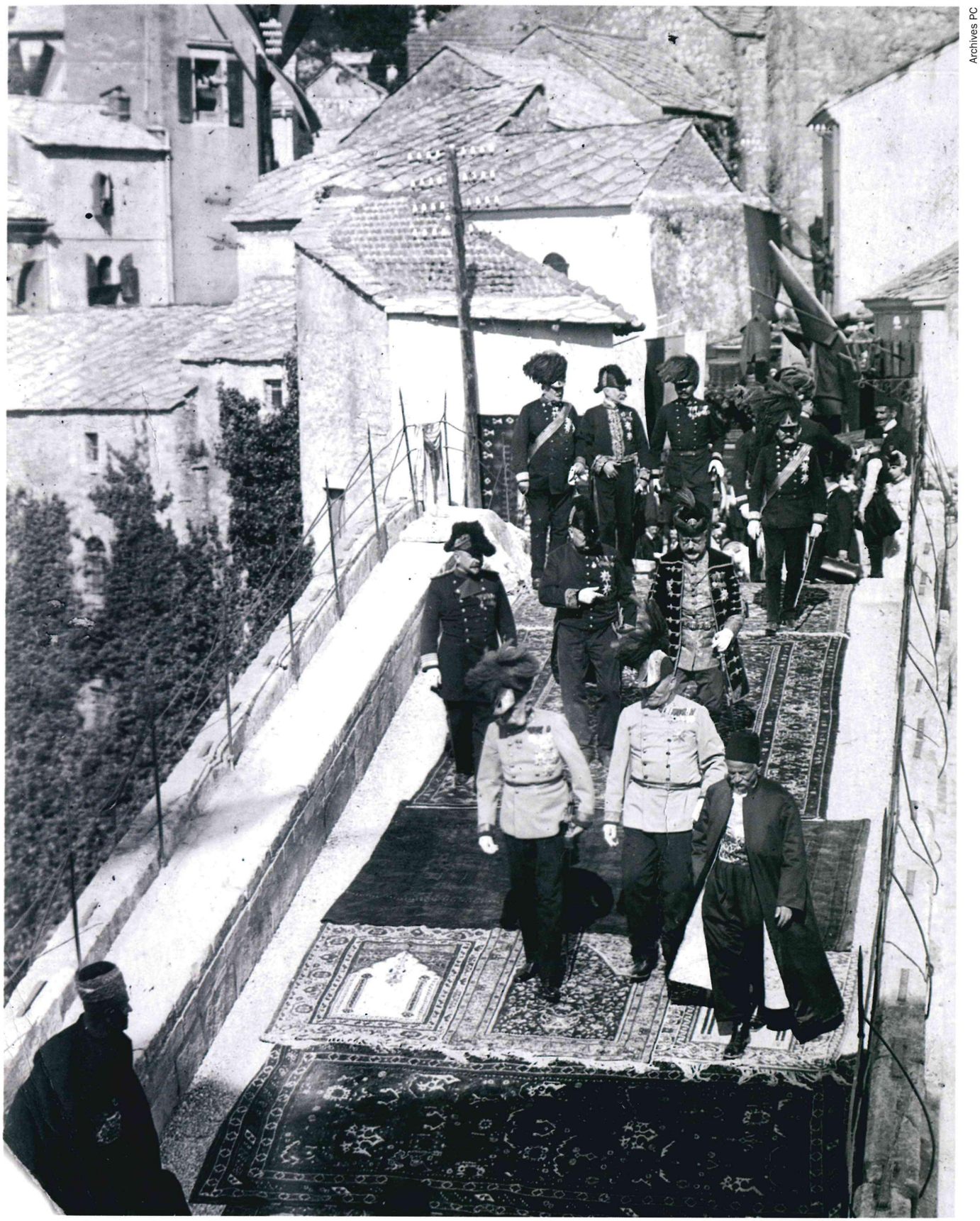
Reception at the station in Mostar. Bosniaks of the III Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 lined up.

Archives WA

On the way to *Stari Most* (Old Bridge) in Mostar.

Archives WA

The approach to the well-known Old Bridge in Mostar was covered with precious carpets.



Archives PC

The Emperor with his retinue on *Stari Most*. In the right foreground Mayor Mujaga Komadina.

The Emperor in front of Hotel Narenta in Mostar. In the foreground Bosniaks of the III Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4.

Archives CN

Crises before the First World War

Although the formal annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary really only represented the completion of a development that de facto had long taken place, the political thunderclouds over the Balkans had much less pleasant effects. Serbia, which had initially been favourably disposed to the Danube Monarchy, aligned itself more and more with Russian policy (especially after the assassination of King Alexander I Obrenović in 1903) and the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 led to a major dispute between Austria-Hungary and the czardom. The Serbian desire to acquire a port on the Adriatic alarmed the Danube Monarchy, for whom the Adriatic harbours (Trieste, Pola/Pula, Fiume/Rijeka) constituted the only direct access to the Mediterranean. A bloody conflict in the Balkans seemed to be more and more imminent and the k.u.k. forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Dalmatia prepared for a possible war. The Danube Monarchy only obtained an approval of the annexation by the other powers by threatening war.

Exploiting Turkish weakness, in 1911/12 Italian troops captured Tripoli and Cyrenaica (today's Libya) and the Dodecanese, i.e. the Greek archipelago around Rhodes. In 1912, the states of Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece, allied in the Balkan League, embarked on the First Balkan War. Unrest in Albania and Macedonia offered the suitable pretext. Although the Turkish soldiers sometimes fought well, reorganized in the meantime by German military advisors, they had no chance against the combined forces of the Balkan states: within a few months the Turks were driven out of south-eastern Europe and after a hard-fought siege the fortress of Adrianople (Edirne) also surrendered. In 1913, a conflict over the booty led to the Second Balkan War: the erstwhile allies and Romania fought against Bulgaria and the Turks retook Adrianople. It was only late that the European powers decided to intervene, but in 1913/14 they managed to establish Albania as a neutral princi-

Archives CN

The Balkan Wars of 1912/13 led to 'heightened alert' on the part of Austro-Hungarian forces. This, of course, also affected the Bosniaks stationed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Archives CN

Despite fears of ill discipline, all the Austro-Hungarian troops affected by the preparations for war in 1912/13 behaved correctly and loyally, irrespective of their nationality. This also applied to the Bosniaks, regardless of their religion or ethnic affiliation.

pality under international control and to force the Serbian, Montenegrin and Greek forces to withdraw. As exaggerated nationalist ambitions played a role in both Balkan wars, violations of human rights and atrocities repeatedly occurred. It is no coincidence that the report by the American Carnegie Commission on atrocities committed by the belligerents was reprinted in the very year 1995. The recent war in Bosnia-Herzegovina was reminiscent of similar horrors 80 years earlier.

In the light of this fighting at the front door, as it were, the Austro-Hungarian troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina and southern Dalmatia were placed on 'heightened alert' in spring 1913. An invasion of Montenegro or a war against Serbia and Montenegro seemed to be imminent several times and on 2 May 1913 a state of emergency was proclaimed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the provincial diet was dissolved and civilian courts suspended. The chief of the Austro-Hungarian general staff, *General* Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, urged a pre-emptive war so as to prevent Serbia from growing stronger.[78] Ultimately, it was thanks to the more circumspect policy of the foreign ministry in Vienna and above all the stance of Emperor Franz Joseph that war did not already break out in 1912/13. Austria-Hungary and Russia agreed to let prudence prevail and not to make the Balkan war into a pretext for launching a European war. Peace in south-eastern Europe could be preserved for another two years.

Despite fears of instances of ill discipline, all the k.u.k. troops affected by the measures of 1912/13 behaved correctly and loyally, whatever their nationality. This also and particularly applied to the Bosniaks, regardless of their religion or ethnicity. This stands in no contradiction to the fact that nationalist Serbian propaganda, of course, found sympathies among the intellectuals, above all teachers and students, but also young officers, who were then skilfully exploited by Serb agents. Ultimately, one of the roots of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914 can be found here.

Religions and Nations: Differences and Common Ground

by Christoph Neumayer and Erwin A. Schmidl

In the nascent nationalism of the 19th century the ethnic and religious communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina played, of course, a more and more important role. Contrary to the fears of the administration, the nationality conflict did not generally affect the military units from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnian-Herzegovinian units placed great importance on the religious needs of the soldiers.

As the result of the bloody fighting and massacres between 1992 and 1995 the Balkans in general and Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular are considered a 'powder keg' and the centuries of tensions between the ethnic groups are evoked. However, in reality there were repeatedly lengthy periods of peaceful coexistence. The identities of the different ethnic groups – today usually simplified as 'Serbs', 'Croats' and 'Bosnians/Muslims' – were the results of a lengthy process taking place in the 19th and early 20th centuries, partly even during the period of Austro-Hungarian administration. Religious affiliation became 'national' identity. For this reason it seems important to take a closer look at the ethnic groups and religions in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Sometimes it seems as if most of the soldiers from Bosnia-Herzegovina were Mus-

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In Bosnia and Herzegovina the religious and ethnic communities were closely intermingled in terms of space. Christians of all denominations lived door to door with Muslims and Jews.

lims – the 'oriental' fez even suggests this supposition. But Muslims actually constituted only roughly a third of the population of these provinces and, equally, only a third of the k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops. Although the majority of Muslims had viewed the takeover of administration by Austria-Hungary in 1878 sceptically or negatively, the attitudes of the other major religious communities, the Serbian Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, were ambivalent. Even though some of the Christians were suspicious, others placed hopes in the new administration. In particular, many people expected the abolition of the system of land ownership by the *aghas* (large landowners, the majority of them Muslims) above the Christian peasant farmers, the so-called *kmetovi*, and social equality in general.

In statistical terms, the Christian ethnic groups grew more than the Muslim one during the Austro-Hungarian period. In the four decades between 1878 and 1918 the Muslims retained their second place among the three major denominations, but the numbers shifted clearly in favour of Orthodox believers and – even more so – Roman Catholics. In 1915, about 870,000 Orthodox residents lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina (about 43 % of the total population), whereas there were about 638,000 Muslims (about 32 %) and roughly 470,000 Roman Catholics (about 23 %).[79] The Muslims benefited least from the absolute growth of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1879 and 1915: natural-growth ratios: 100 Catholics: 52.5 Muslims; 100 Orthodox believers: 62.6 Muslims.[80]

It was only in the urban population, which only consisted of about 280,000 people in 1910, that the Muslims constituted a clear majority until 1918. This can be explained by the position of the Muslim upper class. In 1910, 50.8 % of town dwellers were Muslims, compared with 24.5 % Catholics and only 19.9 %

Population according to Religion, Status 1910

Serbian Orthodox Church	825,418	43.49 %
Muslims	612,137	32.25 %
Roman Catholics	434,061	22.87 %
Greek Catholics	8,136	0.43 %
Sephardi Jews	8,219	0.43 %
Other Jews	3,649	0.19 %
Protestants	6,342	0.33 %
Others	82	0.01 %

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (Sarajevo 1912), XXXVIII.

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The different ethnic groups had cultivated their cultural traditions for centuries: *Kolo* (circle dance) by Christian Bosnian peasants on the occasion of Emperor Franz Joseph's visit to Ilidže.

Orthodox believers, apart from 4 % Jews and 0.6 % Protestants. The other town dwellers were Greek Catholics and members of 'other religions'.[81] Put in other words, 23 % of the Muslims lived in the towns, whereas this was only 15.7 % of the Roman Catholics and only 6.7 % of the Serbian Orthodox believers.

As regards the social issue and the equality of the Christian rural population, during the Austro-Hungarian administration the feudal agrarian system of mainly Muslim major landowners (*aghas*)[82] and Christian tenant farmers (*kmetovi*)[83] remained largely untouched. The main reason was probably because the Austro-Hungarian administration did not want to make the Muslim upper class into political opponents. In 1910 more than 91 % of the major landowners with tenant farmers or *kmetovi* were Muslims, although the number of tenants per *agha* steadily decreased.[84] The law intended optionally to replace the *kmetovi* was only passed in 1911 and the success was limited. This is probably one of the most significant reasons for the disappointment of the – predominantly Serbian Orthodox – rural population with Austro-Hungarian rule.

By contrast, the urban Christian population benefited much more from the processes of modernization, as can be seen in the participation of indigenous civil servants in the provincial administration. Of the 6,045 civil servants hailing from Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1914 more than half (3,445) were Serbian Orthodox and only 1,644 Muslims.

The illiteracy rate in Bosnia and Herzegovina also evinced much better figures for non-Muslims, although they continued to be high. By comparison, in Austria and Hungary the illiteracy rate came to 24.0 % in 1900.[85]

In the context of growing nationalism, the ethno-religious communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina – as everywhere in south-eastern Europe – played a significant role in the course of the 19th century. Influenced by political events in neighbouring

Illiteracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Persons over 7) according to Denominations, Status 1910

Serbian Orthodox Church	575,152	89.92 %
Muslims	453,712	94.65 %
Roman Catholics	264,903	77.45 %
Others	8,055	38.27 %

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (Sarajevo 1912), XLIII.

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Despite all the processes of modernization, particularly in the towns, traditional handicrafts also survived in Sarajevo: coppersmith's workshop in the *Čaršija*.

The distinguishing features of the different religious communities characterize the streets of Sarajevo: Muslim woman with her daughter.

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countries, the Roman Catholic Bosnians came to define themselves as Croats and the Orthodox Bosnians as Serbs. At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation this development had made significant progress and was concluded around the turn of the century. From it grew, of course, political nationalism with its specific programmes and demands. Only the Bosnian Muslims did not take this course initially, but defined themselves mainly by their religion and not 'nationality', as is in keeping with the essence of Islam.[86]

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Christian peasant woman in Sarajevo, around 1910.

Muslim Soldiers for the Emperor

Muslims constituted about a third of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops. Their integration in the armed forces made it necessary to pass special regulations and led to establishing a Muslim military clergy in the k.u.k. army with a military mufti at the top.
For Austria-Hungary, the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was more than the simple takeover of former Ottoman territory. It subsequently involved decades of handling a province influenced by one of three major religious groups, Catholics, Muslims and (Serbian) Orthodox believers. Perhaps the greatest challenge for the Austro-Hungarian administration was to be confronted for the first time with a compact Muslim minority.
Even before the beginning of the occupation in 1878 the Austro-Hungarian authorities endeavoured to avoid conflicts arising from the violation of religious feelings wherever possible. The commander of the 13th Corps entrusted with the occupation, *Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Philippović Freiherr von Philippsberg (1819-1889), appealed to the population in a proclamation and to the occupying soldiers in a corps order of the day. It also contained the words, in direct reference to the Muslim inhabitants: *'His Majesty the Sultan, inspired by the desire for your welfare, has seen himself induced to commit you to the protection of His friend, the Emperor and King, [...] Your laws and institutions are not*

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Although Muslims continued to constitute the majority of the urban population during the Austro-Hungarian period, they only made limited use of the new possibilities of advancement and development. It was only gradually that a well-educated Muslim middle class, according to Western standards, emerged. Gazi Husrev-beg's Mosque in Sarajevo, in the background the fort.

to be arbitrarily overthrown, your customs and practices are to be treated with care. Nothing is to be changed violently without careful deliberation of what you need. [...] Many peoples live together under His mighty sceptre and all of them speak their own languages. He rules over the members of many religions and all of them can confess to their beliefs freely'.[87]

With reference to the proclamation, the corps order of the day simultaneously published on 27 July 1878 impressed upon the soldiers that '*the rights of every nation and religion and existing customs and practices, property and the sanctity of the home are to be protected*'.[88] Moreover, the soldiers were '*to heed the customs and practices of the believers in Islam in every way and not to enter mosques or harems*'.[89]

The Status of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina

In the following decades, too, the administration placed special emphasis on winning over the hearts of the Muslim population, not just because they had initially been the main pillars of – armed – resistance, but also because they were viewed as an element of balance in the nationality conflict between Roman Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs which was hardly susceptible to either form of nationalist propaganda.

Nevertheless, it took a comparatively long time until sections of the Muslim population recognized and utilized the new opportunities of promotion and development. Although Muslims constituted the traditional upper class and the majority of the urban population, they benefited less from the social advancement process than Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs.[90] It was only gradually that a thin stratum of, according to Western standards, well-educated Muslim citizens emerged that could hold their own in the competition of a more and more complicated economic, administrative and social system. Although, for instance, the number of indigenous civil servants increased by more than 150 % (from 2,484 to 6,190) in the decade from 1905 to 1915, the number of Muslim ones merely grew from 728 to 1,640, corresponding to a rise of only 125 %.[91]

For the acceptance of the Austro-Hungarian administration among the majority of the Muslim population internal or domestic experiences were mainly important, apart from external developments (such as the Balkan Wars, during which the sympathies of the majority of the Muslims lay on the side of the beaten Ottoman Empire). This process by no means developed without conflict. One of the developments seen to be positive, apart from the reorganization of the Islamic religious community, was ultimately the treatment of Muslim members of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. But here, above all, the previous experiences had been extremely negative. After all, it was not least the introduction of military service that had led to a rebellion in 1881/82. This had spread rapidly in Herzegovina and was mainly supported by Serbian peasants – the Serbian Orthodox population had been exempt from military service under the Ottoman administration – and the Muslim middle class. Muslim resistance could not even be prevented by a *fatwa* (legal opinion)[92] by the then mufti of Sarajevo (and later *reis-ul-ulema*), Hilmi Mustafa Omerović, who instructed Muslims to accept the new Army Act. The prospect of serving as a Muslim in the army of a non-Muslim ruler induced many Muslims to offer resistance or emigrate. Emigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina proceeded in waves. After 1883 the Austro-Hungarian administration tightened emigration conditions.

As regards the integration of Muslims into the k.u.k. army, the War Ministry had made extensive preparations and obtained information on the treatment of Muslim soldiers in other European armies even before Bosnians and Herzegovinians started to be recruited in 1881. A questionnaire was sent to the Austro-Hungarian military attachés in Sofia, London, Montenegro, Paris, St. Petersburg and Bucharest enquiring about the modes of acceptance, the religious holidays, prayer rooms and Muslim military clergy.[93] The Provisional Army Act for Bosnia and Herzegovina then provided for a series of regulations adjusted to the needs of Muslim conscripts.[94]

Specific Regulations for Muslim Conscripts

As with the consecrated priests and ministers of other recognized churches and religious communities, for the Muslims '*Mullahs, Sharia magistrates on duty, mudaris (teachers at schools attached to mosques) regularly holding lectures, certified imams and hatibs, if they exercise their spiritual functions personally, and sheikhs*' were exempt from military service. '*Monks not consecrated as priests and dervishes can only claim this privilege if they have been accepted into a monastery before the proclamation of this law*' (§11). *Hodžas* (teachers) officially employed at elementary schools and prospective clerics in training were also exempt. Moreover, as supplements to existing provisions and regulations, directives were issued on the treatment of 'conscripted Mohammedans'.[95]

The most important points were:

- Fridays as well as three days during *Ramadan Bajram* and four days during *Kurban Bajram* are considered days of rest. For troops doing military service this regulation had qualifications: it did not apply to '*soldiers doing armed duty on these days or whose turn it is to do duty*'.
- Soldiers of the Islamic faith were permitted to prepare their meals separately and to purchase the necessary food themselves, as long as it could not be supplied by the army. Separate mess kits were provided, which, to prevent confusion, were to be marked. In case these mess kits were 'religiously contaminated', they were to be replaced by new ones.[96]
- It was particularly stressed that in all cases '*care be taken to ensure that Mohammedans are prohibited the consumption of pork, pork fat and wine, then the meat of slaughter-contaminated animals*'.[97]
- Consideration was also taken for the much greater sense of shame of Mus-

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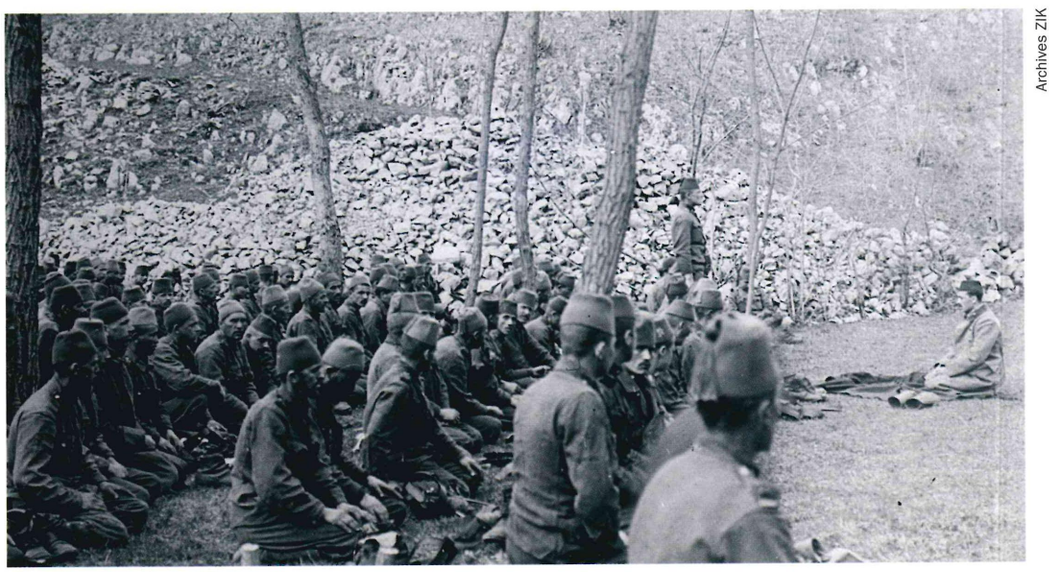
Muslim Bosniaks praying under the guidance of a military imam during the First World War. The Provisional Army Act showed large consideration for the religious customs of the Muslims. Muslim holidays were intended as days of rest, eating regulations were complied with and compulsory prayers observed on high feast days.



Archives ZIK

Muslim prayers were part of the 'five pillars' of Islam. The daily prayer ritual (*salah*) consists of a sequence of postures (standing, bowing, kneeling, touching the ground with the forehead), which go back to Muhammed's practice of praying.

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Whenever possible, prayers should be performed as a community facing the direction of the Kaaba in Mecca. During the First World War it was often difficult to adhere to religious prescriptions due to combat activity and problems with supply.

lims (quoted in many later reports of experiences). Doctors' examinations of Muslim soldiers were always to take place individually and in a separate room '*so that the patient is alone with the doctor*'.

- When Muslim soldiers were not on duty they could perform the Friday *Jumu'ah* prayers between 11 o' clock in the morning and 1 o' clock in the afternoon and the one-hour prayer before sunrise during the *Bajram* holidays was to be made possible in a mosque. If no mosque was available, a separate room was to be provided, unless the prayer was held in the open air.
- Wash basins and jugs were purchased for religious ablutions and it was stipulated that funerals of Muslim soldiers were not to be '*accompanied*' by music or bandsmen.[98]

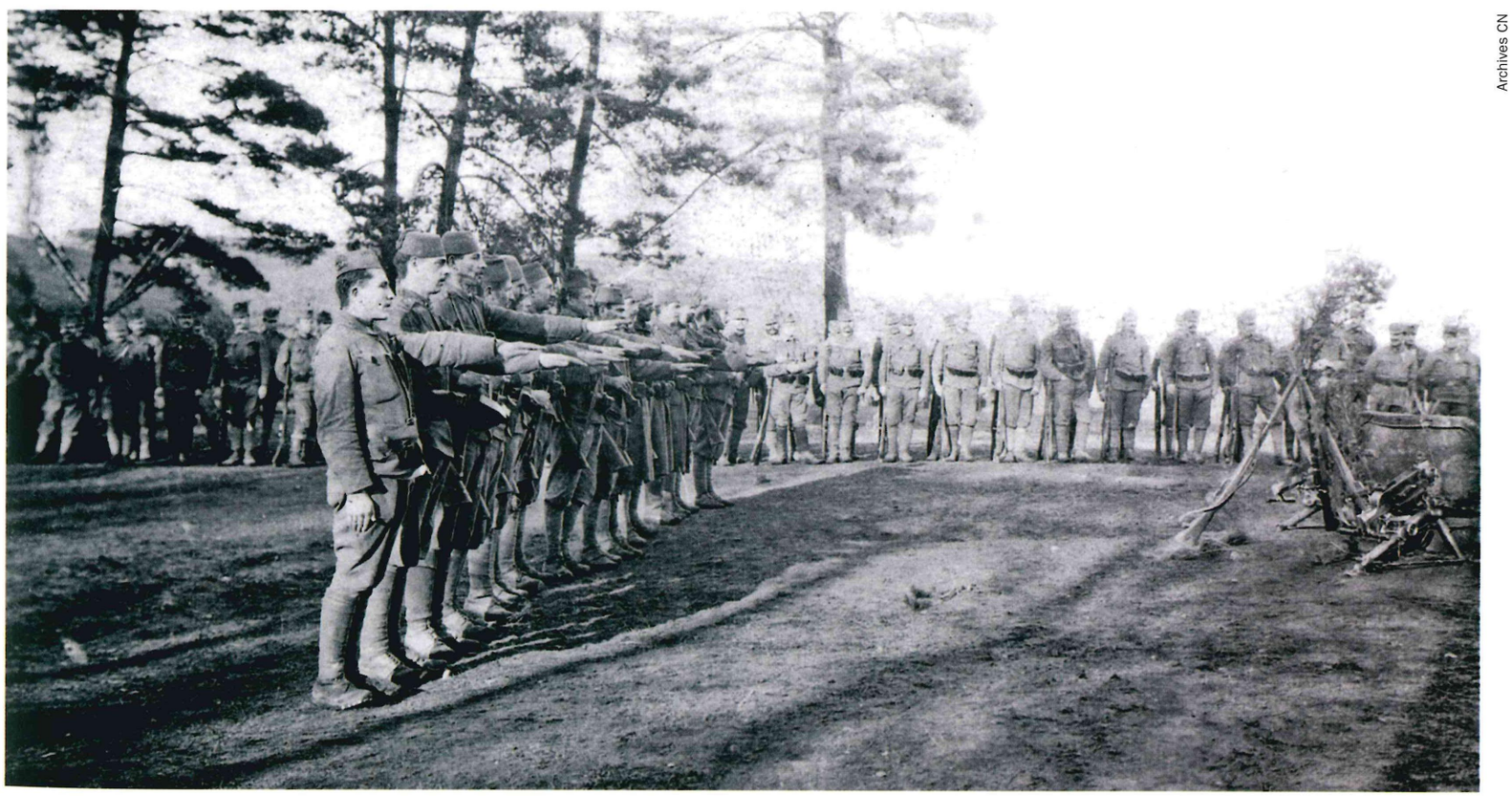
After basic training, individual Muslim soldiers were attached to the military hospitals of the garrison area for training as medics. They then had to attend to their 'fellow believers' and administer '*spiritual comfort to the dying and wash the corpse*'.

When the Bosnian-Herzegovinian units were formed, two military imams were also appointed for spiritual guidance with the standard salary of a military chaplain 2nd class.

The Army Act for Bosnia and Herzegovina of 1912 did not change many of these overall conditions for Muslim soldiers in the army. But the implementing regulations went into greater detail on the exemption from military service of Muslim clerics and the conditions for exemption from military service were tightened. The regulation on monks and dervishes (paragraph 11, point 1 of the Provisional Army Act of 1881) was dropped as being out of date. The graduates of Muslim elementary schools, *mektebs,* had to provide evidence of continuous success in their studies. Moreover, the exemption of 'mullahs' from military service was omitted, as there were none in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1912.[99]

The Oath of Muslim Soldiers

The wording of the oath for Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops – which had to take into account the ambivalent constitutional status of the country – was standardized once more in 1893[100] and supplemented three years later for Muslim soldiers. The military imam had to read the oath aloud, while holding the Koran in his hands. The Muslim soldiers then repeated the oath sentence for sentence with their heads covered. The oath was affirmed by the words *Wallahi-Billahi* (by God). If no military or civilian imam was available, in Bosnia and Herzegovina a *qadi* (Sharia magistrate) or mufti was to be used and outside the occupied region a soldier of the Islamic faith and 'of dignified moral conduct' was to be appointed from the outset.[101] The Austro-Hungarian military authorities were thus following the recommendation of the head of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims, the *Reis-ul-Ulema*, Mehmed Teufik Azabagić, which he had given after an enquiry.[102]



Archives CN

The oath for Muslim Bosniaks was standardized in detail in 1896. Here Muslim Bosniaks swear their oath of allegiance to the new Emperor Karl in November 1916.

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Soldiers of the Islamic faith were authorized to prepare their meals separately. Special mess kits were provided and marked to prevent confusion.

Archives FR

Like all other units, the Bosniaks suffered from the deteriorating supply situation in the course of the war. In individual cases supply problems prevented Muslims from eating according to their religious commandments.

Tensions

On the whole friction seldom occurred with the Muslim members of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian units of the k.u.k. army. However, the following example shows that occasional incidents occurred.

In 1898, Muslim soldiers performing military service with the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiment in Graz complained in a telegram to the *reis-ul-ulema* that they also had to do duty during the *Bajram* holiday. The telegram of 2 May 1898 states verbatim: *'To their great distress the Muslims here feel obliged to ask whether there is really a Bajram holiday and whether we are compelled to do duty. Please reply to the regiment or we will ask the caliph. Soldiers of the Islamic faith'*.[103] The complaint resulted in an investigation initiated by the headquarters of III Corps in Graz that announced that Muslim conscripts were given the opportunity to visit the prayer rooms, but that duty was also done on the first day of the *Kurban Bajram* holiday. An already disciplined infantryman had written the telegram and instigated six NCOs to support him.

But the reaction of the common Finance Minister, Benjamin von Kállay (1839-1903, Finance Minister 1882-1903), responsible for the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is interesting and illustrates the attitude of the provincial government to the Muslims of the province. In an enquiry to the War Minister, Edmund Edler von Krieghammer (1832-1906, War Minister 1893-1902), he wrote, among other things, *'However much the form of this enquiry to the Reis-ul-Ulema contravenes military discipline, in view of the naturally greater sensitivity of the Mohammedans where they live exclusively among Christians I would like to leave it up to the discretion of Your Excellency whether the Mohammedan soldiers in Graz should not be exempt from duty on the following days of the Kurban Bajram holiday'*.[104]

Apart from isolated incidents, the reliability of Muslim soldiers was rated particularly high in the years prior to the outbreak of the First World War. There were even thoughts about stationing Muslim soldiers exclusively in Bosnia itself and transferring the less reliable Croats and Serbs to other parts of the monarchy.[105]

Numerical Proportions

As regards the quantity of Muslims in Bosnian-Herzegovinian units, they came to about 30 % of the NCOs and other ranks. On 31 January 1913 there were 39,956 men in the establishments of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian

Archives FR

Regulations stressed in particular that Muslim soldiers were forbidden to consume pork, pork fat and wine as well as the meat of slaughter-contaminated animals. Mutton was very popular among the Bosniaks.

The Distribution of Conscripts according to Denomination, Status 1911					
Recruiting district:	Sarajevo	Banja Luka	Tuzla	Mostar	**Total**
Muslims	6,086	4,337	5,629	3,140	**19,192**
Serbian Orthodox	4,511	9,399	4,910	5,797	**24,617**
Catholics	1,625	920	2,187	5,281	**10,013**
Jews	195	13	47	9	**264**
Others	5	40	9		**54**

Source: 'Die regelmässige Stellung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina im Jahre 1911', in: *Militärstatistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1911* (Vienna: Technisches Militärkomitee, 1912), 131.

Feldjäger Battalion. Classified according to religion there were:

- 15,907 Greek Orthodox (Serbian Orthodox) (about 39.8 %)
- 12,555 Muslims (about 31.4 %)
- 10,132 Roman Catholics (about 25.4 %)
- 1,077 Greek Catholics (about 2.7 %).[106]

The remaining 285 men (0.7 %) were Jews, Protestants etc. The proportion of Muslims was somewhat higher in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments Nos. 1 (recruiting district: Sarajevo) and 3 (Doljna-Tuzla) because they were recruited from parts of the country with a higher Muslim population.

Among professional officers the number of Muslims was extremely small. On the eve of the First World War, statistics with the status of 31 January 1913 numbered a total of only 21 Muslim officers and officer candidates among conscript, leave, reserve and basic establishments. Only two of them were regular officers (one in a Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiment and the other in a k.u.k. infantry regiment), whilst more than 14,000 Muslim NCOs and enlisted personnel were serving in the k.u.k. army and two (!) in the navy.

The relatively high number of Muslim other ranks with transport units can be explained by the fact that some of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian recruits were attached for training purposes to the train detachments of the common army stationed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[107]

Of the Muslim officers from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the k.u.k. army none reached the rank of general, as the social preconditions were probably too poor and the time to integrate Muslim soldiers too short. The most senior Muslim in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian units of the k.u.k. army was *Oberstleutnant* Mulo Ibruljević of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1.[108]

Muslims in the k.u.k. Army and Navy, Status 31 January 1913	
Officers	**10**
Officer candidates	**11**
Other ranks	**14,049**
With Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry	12,034
With transport units	911
With the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Regiment	521
With the field and mountain artillery	484
With the navy	2

Source: *Militärstatistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1912* (Vienna: Technisches Militärkomitee, 1914), 206f, 210f, 218f.

Muslim Clergy – Development and Personalities

In the four decades of its activity, the Austro-Hungarian administration laid the foundations for the organization of the Islamic religious authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which still have a lasting effect. The Provisional Statutes for the organization of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops of 1882 stipulated spiritual guidance for Muslim soldiers by their own military imams.[109]

A decision of 17 October 1882 by the k.u.k. administration in Bosnia-Herzegovina established a regional head of the Islamic faith, the *reis-ul-ulema* (chairman of the religious congregation), officially on the wishes of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims. He was assigned four Islamic dignitaries as advisors (*medžlis-i-ulema*). At the same time the *reis-ul-ulema* was the mufti of Sarajevo. The salaries of the officials were paid from state funds.

Of course, the appointment of a head of the Islamic faith was linked to the desire on the part of the administration to loosen religious ties to the *sheikh-ul-Islam* in Istanbul. The independent appointment of the *reis-ul-ulema* by the Muslim community itself became one of the most important demands of the Muslim autonomy movement in the first years of the 20th century.

Moreover, the Austro-Hungarian administration reorganized the governing of Islamic religious foundations (*Vakufs*) and set up a Provincial *Vakuf* Commission in 1883. This institution also involved conflicts aiming at self-government. So as to raise the level of Islamic jurisdiction and especially obtain more legal stability in Islamic religious affairs, a Sharia law (*qadi*) school was built in Sarajevo and opened in 1887. A separate teacher train-

ing college (*darulmuallimin*) was set up for instructing Muslim teachers. The rest of the Muslim school system was also subjected to reforms of differing degrees. Negotiations with dignitaries of the Islamic autonomy movement led to the 'Islamic Autonomy Statute' of 1 May 1909, covering 16 sections, which reorganized the affairs of Muslim organizations and authorities. It was preceded by a compromise on the appointment or election of the *reis-ul-ulema*: a Muslim election committee selected three candidates, from which the Emperor chose one. Subsequently, the election committee requested the *sheikh-ul-Islam* in Istanbul for a *menshura* (sanction or authorization to exercise office) for the person appointed by the Emperor. The authorization was sent via the Turkish embassy.

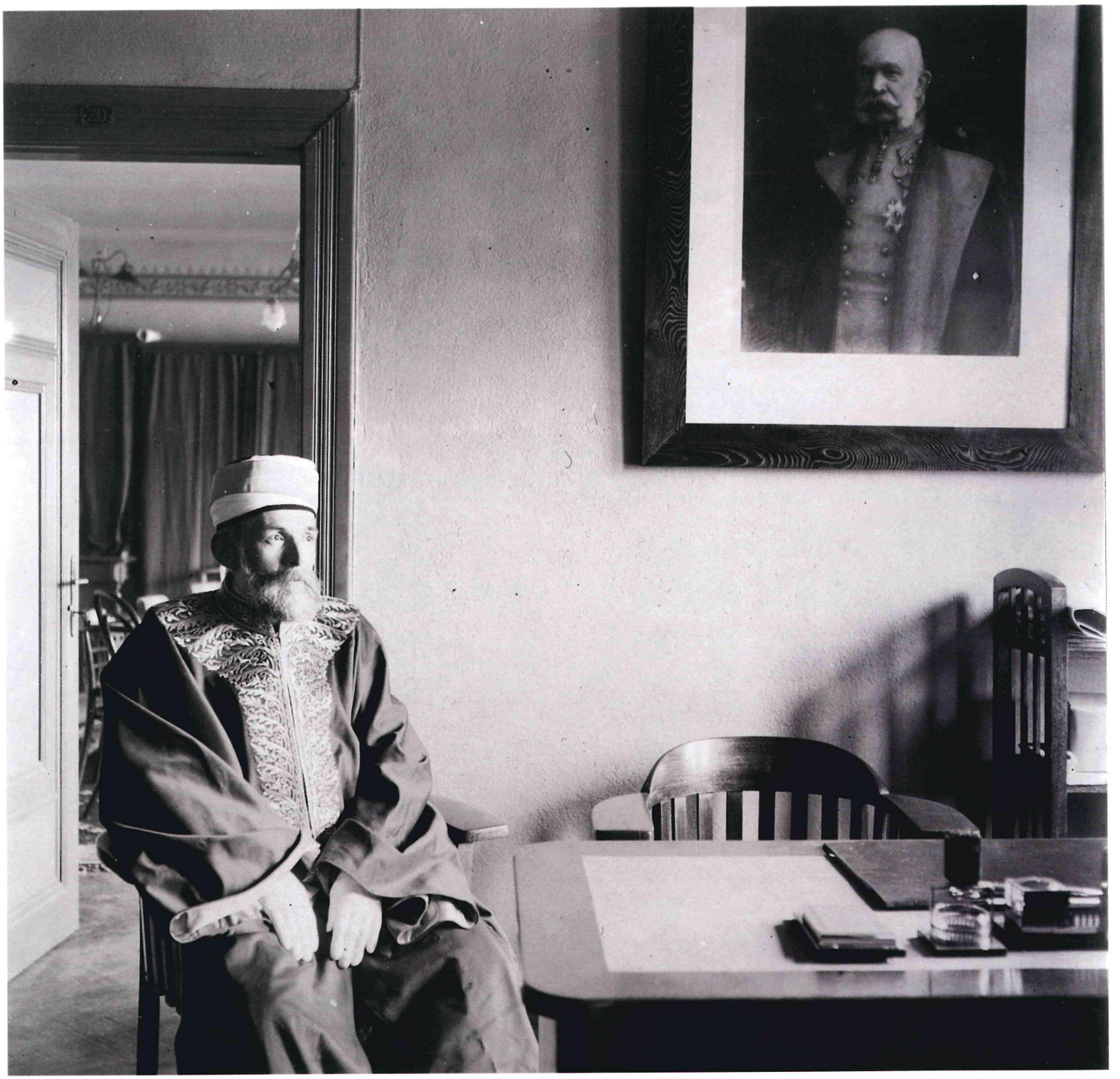
Once the Islamic religious autonomy movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina had satisfactorily settled Muslim religious administration, the introduction of the Islam Act in 1912 (and the recognition of Islam according to the Hanafite ritual prevailing in Sunni Islam) can be viewed as a special (politically desired) focus on Muslim subjects in the Austrian half of the empire. By recognizing the religion, the empire also signalled that in future it wanted to be one with a Muslim population. In retrospect, it can be stated that the Austro-Hungarian era marked the beginnings of the alignment of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims with Europe, not least because of the reforms in the field of religion attained after many debates.

Archives CN

The Sharia Law School, today the Islamic Faculty of the University of Sarajevo, was established to train Muslim magistrates in Sarajevo. By 1918, 219 persons had graduated from it, including some later military imams and the military mufti.

Inauguration of the Reis-ul-Ulema, 1914

Archives WA



The last *reis-ul-ulema* of the Austro-Hungarian era, Hadži Mehmed Džemaluddin Effendi Čaušević. He was ceremonially inaugurated in Sarajevo on 26 March 1914. Finance Minister Bilinski called Čaušević a 'representative figure with pleasant manners' and 'undoubtedly a very keen mind'. The head of the Muslims also played an important role in the modernization of Muslim society after 1918.

Archives WA

For the inauguration ceremony, the *Careva džamija* (Emperor's Mosque) and the official residence of the *reis-ul-ulema* were festively decorated.

Archives WA

The interior of the *Careva džamija*, built in 1566, with the chair for the Emperor's commissioner, provincial governor *Feldzeugmeister* Potiorek.

Archives WA

The newly inaugurated *reis-ul-ulema* leaves the *Careva džamija* together with *Feldzeugmeister* Oskar Potiorek.

Archives WA

All the high Islamic dignitaries of the country attended the ceremony with the heads of the administration. Guests in the courtyard of *Careva džamija*.

Archives WA

The III Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1; lined up in front of the *Careva džamija* under *Oberstleutnant* Emil Greger.

Archives WA

The Imperial commissioner *Feldzeugmeister* (= *General*) Oskar Potiorek (centre right) leaves the mosque after offering his congratulations and walks to the *konak*.

Muslim Clergy

Initially, two military imams were introduced as standard to perform spiritual guidance for the regular Muslim soldiers of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. They had the rank of a military chaplain 2nd class (corresponding to *Hauptmann*), with the entitlement to be promoted to 1st class. The office and area of duty were determined by the general headquarters in Sarajevo. Until 1914 a total of nine military imams served with Bosnian-Herzegovinian units.

It was only in 1909 that the projected number of one regular military imam for each of the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments was reached. For individual contingencies going beyond regimental duties the k.u.k. army utilized Muslim subsidiary clerics. After Dženanović, the active military imam, had been posted from Sarajevo to Trieste in 1909, for instance, a Muslim subsidiary cleric taught at the military boarding school for boys in Sarajevo.[110]

As the first k.u.k. military imam, Hadži Mehmed Effendi Kokić was appointed military imam 2nd class for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops on 1 September 1882. Kokić came from Soptnica (the vicinity of Zenica) and was 33 years old at the time of his appointment. The Mufti of Sarajevo and later *Reis-ul-ulema*, Mustafa Hilmi Effendi Omerović, had earlier taught Kokić Koran lessons, given him religious instruction and examined him on '*all the customary ceremonies*' and found him 'knowledgeable and competent'.[111] Kokić died in Sarajevo in April 1888.

His successor was Hodža Mehmed Effendi Bečiragić, who was assigned to the Muslim troops in Sarajevo after 1 September 1888. Born in 1861, the son of a landowner in Paleš in the district of Fojnica, he taught at the Infantry Cadet Academy in Vienna from 1884 to 1888, then at the k.u.k. military boarding school for boys in Sarajevo until 1891 and attended to Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops from his seat in Sarajevo. In Vienna again after 1892, he continued his work as a Muslim cleric in the imperial capital. He died on 1 February 1895.[112]

When Bosnian-Herzegovinian units started to be transferred from the occupied region to garrisons in Austria-Hungary in 1891, Ahmed Šukri Effendi Bajraktarević was appointed as the projected second military imam. Before joining the Austro-Hungarian army, Bajraktarević, who was born in Gornji-Vakuf in 1860, had been a *hodža* (teacher), then imam in the Ali Pasha Mosque in Sarajevo and teacher of oriental languages at the military boarding school for boys there (1889/90). As of 1891 he was a teacher of religion at the Infantry Cadet Academy in Vienna and was the military chaplain for the Muslim soldiers stationed there. In February 1902 he returned to Sarajevo and from then on performed his duties as a military imam in Bosnia itself. In 1904 he was promoted military imam 1st class.[113]

As of 1 May 1895 Asim Effendi Doglodović was employed to look after the two Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments in Vienna beside Bajraktarević. Up to the time of his leave of absence in 1903 he remained a military imam. Doglodović was the son of a magistrate, attended a *madrasah* and the Sharia law school in Sarajevo, from which he graduated with the best grades. The reasons for the leave of absence of the military imam, born in 1867, were problems with the Muslim members of the army because he had performed his pastoral duties laxly. In the official report on him of 1901 it is stated, for instance, '*[He] performs his religious duties in an easy-going and*

Military Imams in the k.u.k. Army from 1882–1914/18 (Appointments until 1914)

Name	Period of service	Post
Hadži Mehmed Effendi Kokić	1882–1888	Sarajevo
Hodža Mehmed Effendi Bečiragić	1888–1895	Vienna/Sarajevo
Ahmed Šukri Effendi Bajraktarević	1891–1904	Vienna (after 1902 Sarajevo)
Asim Effendi Doglodović	1895–1902	Vienna
Hasim Effendi Dženanović	1902–1914*	Vienna/Budapest/Graz/Sarajevo/Trieste (after 1909)
Hafiz Abdullah Effendi Kurbegović	1904–1918	Vienna (military mufti after 1914)
Sali Effendi Atiković	1909–1918	Graz
Hafiz Ibrahim Effendi Jahić	1909–1918	Budapest
Osman Redžović	1914–1917	With BH IR No. 4

*Note: Between 1904 and 1906 Dženanović was on leave of absence and then active in Sarajevo from 1906 to 1909; then assigned to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 in Trieste as a military imam.

Archives HGM

A total of nine regular military imams served with Bosnian-Herzegovinian units until 1914. During the First World War their number increased significantly. Reserve Military Imam (for the duration of the war) Abdulah Cvijetić.

technical way. His religious conviction is extremely liberal.'[114] This factor and the circumstance that '*he did not heed the statutes of his religion concerning abstaining from the consumption of spirits in taverns (canteens)*', impaired his authority among (devout) Muslim soldiers. Moreover, he had debts amounting to 2,290 crowns. Doglodović was finally dismissed from his post on 1 March 1902 and had to appear before the garrison court in Vienna, which sentenced him to two years' intensified imprisonment on 30 July 1903.

Prayer rooms were set up for Muslim soldiers in Vienna (first in the old *Alserkaserne*, then, after it had been torn down, in Archduke Albrecht Barracks), Graz (in the Large Dominican Barracks), and Budapest (in the Ferdinand Barracks).

After Bajraktarević' move to Sarajevo and as successor to the military imam Doglodović, Hasim Effendi Dženanović worked in the imperial capital as of 1 April 1902. Dženanović was born in Modra in the district of Sanski-Most in 1864. He was the son of a merchant and received his theological training in Istanbul. From 1902 to 1904 he looked after the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops in Vienna, Budapest and Graz and taught at the Infantry and Artillery Cadet Academy in Vienna. On leave of absence from 1 August 1904 to 1 July 1906 (from 1 October 1904 on Hafiz Abdullah Effendi Kurbegović looked after the Muslim troops in Vienna), from then on he performed his duty as military imam in Sarajevo for the Muslim soldiers stationed in Bosnia. As of 1909, Dženanović was assigned to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 in Trieste. He died in 1914.[115]

Apart from Dženanović, in the years prior to 1914 young military clerics did duty – all were born either shortly before the occupation or during the years of Austro-Hungarian administration.[116] Sali Effendi Atiković served as a regular military imam with the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in Graz after

Archives HGM

During the First World War. Austro-Hungarian military imam, Cvijetić (centre) in Trebinje.

1 June 1909. Born in Tuzla in 1883, he was a graduate of the Sharia law school in Sarajevo and had thus received his training exclusively in Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian administration and no longer in Istanbul. Atiković was given very good reports and was awarded the Golden Merit Cross with Crown in 1916. After the outbreak of war Atiković was employed to win over the hearts of the Muslim population of Adakalch-Oršova for the war. Apart from spiritual guidance, his later activity ranged from religious courses on meals for Muslim soldiers (including one in Kötschach-Mauthen in Carinthia in August 1915) to censoring correspondence written in Arabic at the military censors' headquarters in Laibach (Ljubljana).

On 1 June 1909 Hafiz Ibrahim Effendi Jahić also took up duty as the regular military imam of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 in Budapest. Jahić was born in Mostar in 1875, was the son of a burgher, had graduated from the *madrasah* (school) in Mostar and had been a civilian imam until 1909.

From 1904 on Hašim Dženanović's successor in Vienna was Hafiz Abdullah Effendi Kurbegović, who went through the most successful career of a Muslim military cleric in Austria-Hungary. Born in Prijedor in 1873 the son of a *hodža* (teacher), he passed three years of a *madrasah* in Istanbul and five years of the Sharia law school in Sarajevo with good grades. Kurbegović was appointed military imam as the teacher of Islamic religion at the secondary school in Banja Luka. From 1904 on he looked after his fellow Muslims in Vienna, Budapest and Graz and taught at various military schools and academies.

After the appointments of the military imams Atiković for Graz and Jahić for

Archives HGM

A mosque for Muslim soldiers in Trebinje during the war.

Archives ZIK

Budapest, Kurbegović looked after the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 in Vienna and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion in Bruck an der Leitha and taught at the Infantry and Artillery Academy in Vienna. He was also entrusted with caring for sick Muslim conscripts. His official apartment was at Florianigasse 75 in the VIII district, in a building which is still unchanged today.[117] After Dženanović' death in 1914 he was succeeded by Osman Redžović as a regular military imam 2nd class in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4.

After the military chaplaincy of the k.u.k. army had been further expanded following the initiative of the Apostolic Field Chaplain Emerich Bielik and after negotiations with the common Finance Ministry, the measures also provided for the establishment of a military mufti.[118] A circular decree of 17 September 1913 laid down the post of a military mufti of the VIII rank class (equivalent of a *Major*) as standard. The question as to the uniform of the military mufti was also settled.[119]

On 1 November 1914, Kurbegović was appointed military mufti 2nd class and thus became the highest Muslim military chaplain in Austria-Hungary.

During the First World War the number of Islamic military clerics increased considerably. At the beginning of 1918, apart from the military mufti Kurbegović and the two military imams Aziković and Jahić, there were another five military imams in the reserve and no fewer than 93 military imams in the reserve for the duration of the war, a total of about one hundred Muslim military clerics.[120] This can also be rated as an indicator of the importance of Muslim soldiers in Austria-Hungary.

Military imam of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 (left) in the Karst. At the beginning of the final year of the war, apart from one military mufti, there were two regular military imams, five in the reserve and 93 in the reserve for the duration of the war.

The Bosnian Serbs

The Serbian Orthodox Bosnians constituted the majority population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and also the main proportion of the enlisted personnel of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. Orthodox or Serbian officers from the areas of the former military frontier (abolished in 1871) commanded a series of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units.[121]
Apart from the peasant majority, in the course of the Austro-Hungarian era the Serbian Orthodox Bosnians formed an – albeit thin – middle and upper class, which articulated cultural and political demands and helped to shape public life. Besides the emerging intelligentsia of teachers, lawyers, journalists and writers, they consisted of business people and representatives of the Orthodox Church, who had traditionally been focal points, pillars and often even the initiators of Serb identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Orthodox Church

The Orthodox Church in Bosnia was based on communities formed of lay persons, who were simultaneously responsible for local administration, in accordance with the 'millet system' prevalent in the Ottoman Empire, which enabled the autonomous administration of the non-Muslim sections of the population by their respective church bodies. (The millet system also represents the origin of the strong nationalist role of religious communities in south-eastern Europe, where the churches were responsible for many of the administrative and legal tasks performed by state institutions in western and central Europe.)[122]
One of the main problems was caused by the inadequate theological training of the Bosnian clergy and hence the absence of an indigenous clerical leadership.[123]
As Austria-Hungary had had aspirations on Bosnia-Herzegovina for some time, in 1853 scholarships were established for Bosnians and Montenegrins in the Orthodox clerical school of Zara (Zadar in Croatia). This subsequently occasioned

Archives CN

The large Serbian Orthodox church in Sarajevo was built in 1882. The Austro-Hungarian administration financed a series of churches and put payment of the clergy on a new footing.

Archives WA

more sympathies for Austria, although the Orthodox clergy in Bosnia had traditionally turned rather to Russia and Serbia. A further challenge was funding the Orthodox Church. At the time of the occupation in 1878, the three Orthodox bishops in office with the rank of metropolitans in Sarajevo, Doljna-Tuzla and Mostar, none of whom was born in Bosnia or Herzegovina, did not receive fixed salaries. Instead, they levied fees (*vladikarina*) on their subordinate clergy and the Orthodox population, part of which was transferred to the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople. In 1878 there were 251 Orthodox parishes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[124]

Apart from reorganizing the Orthodox Church, growing Serb nationalism was a focus of attention for the Austro-Hungarian administration. In the 'March Convention' (concordat) with the Patriarch of Constantinople of 28 March 1880, comprising seven articles, Vienna was given the assurance that no bishop might be consecrated without the consent of the Austro-Hungarian government.[125] This safeguarded provincial church unity; in future the provincial administration was to collect the fees due to the bishops from the faithful and the bishops were to receive their income as salaries from provincial funds.[126] In 1881 the metropolitan of Sarajevo was retired and a Herzegovinian ecclesiastic appointed instead and building was also started on an Orthodox seminary for all three epar-

In Galicia and Bukovina the Orthodox Church attained special significance and prestige, but also in Croatia and Slavonia as parts of the military frontier due to immigration there from the Ottoman Empire. The photograph shows Metropolitan Miron Nikolić, the 7th Patriarch of Karlovac (1913/14-1919). In Bosnia a fourth Orthodox regional entity was formed within the Habsburg Empire, which was given its own organizational statutes in 1905. The number of eparchies (dioceses) grew from three (Sarajevo, Mostar and Tuzla) to four (Banja Luka, 1900). By 1897 alone 151 Orthodox churches and monasteries had been built and 54 renovated with funds from the provincial government.

chies (dioceses) in Reljevo, also financed by the provincial government. In 1884 the *vladikarina* was abolished.
Subsequently, a number of churches were built, parish registers printed and a pension fund for the widows and orphans of Serbian Orthodox priests founded in 1898. In 1898, too, a fourth Bosnian-Herzegovinian eparchy was requested for the districts of Banja Luka and Bihać (a total of 33,547 km² with 481,000 believers) with the see in Banja Luka. The Ecumenical Patriarch authorized it in a synodal decree of 12 July 1899. The establishment of an Orthodox ecclesiastical high court for Bosnia and Herzegovina followed in 1901.
At the same time the Orthodox church communities fought for the autonomous organization of church administration and its associated school system. From 1896 on a '*stormy period of conflict*' lasting several years followed,[127] centring on the recognition of the 'Serbian Orthodox nationality' in self-administration, '*whilst Vienna and Budapest under no circumstances wanted to recognize the Bosnian Orthodox population as part of the Serbian nation*'.[128] Ultimately, the metropolitans themselves opposed extensively expanding lay competence; a joint draft was elaborated, to which the Patriarch gave his canonical consent in 1905. Emperor Franz Joseph had already given his approval in August 1904. This Serbian Orthodox church statute stipulated three levels of hierarchies (consisting of lay persons. clerics and mixed).

The Political Development

Between 1878 and 1914 the political development of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Serbs went through four phases.[129] The peasants' uprising of 1881/82 (against the introduction of military service) was followed by a struggle for autonomy in the fields of religion and schooling from 1896 to 1905, then resistance against the annexation in 1908/09 and finally the revolutionary activity of Serbian youth between 1910 and 1914, culminating in the assassination of the heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, in June 1914. The Serbian National Organization (SNO), founded in 1907, advocated the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the sovereignty of the Sultan and the creation of a separate customs zone. At the same time it was not possible to reach a politically homogeneous stance among the Orthodox or Serbian Bosnians. This was due not least to the differing positions of Serbian political bodies on solving the agrarian issue. Some of the Serb politicians wanted to win over the great Muslim landowners as allies in opposition to the administration and thus hesitated to give priority to the agrarian issue, although the latter was especially important for other Serbs.
The Balkan Wars of 1912/13 – with fighting in the immediate vicinity and a substantial expansion of Serbian territory – increased political activity in Bosnia. The Serbian delegates to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian provincial diet composed a petition of support for Serbia, heavily criticizing the position of Austria-Hungary. The administration decided to subject Serb associations and periodicals to strict censorship.[130]

Archives WA

Traditionally, the Orthodox Church was the focal point, but also the initiator of Serbian identity in Bosnia and the clergy played an important role. Orthodox Serbs waiting for the heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, June 1914.

Disappointed by the leading Serbian politicians, the Revolutionary Youth took the course of armed and terrorist activity with seven assassinations and several attempted assassinations of senior government officials between 1910 and 1914. The start was an – abortive – attempt on the life of the governor of the province at the time, *General der Infanterie* Marijan Varešanin (1847-1917), on 16 June 1910, the day of the opening of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian provincial diet.[131] The assassination of the heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, on 28 June 1914 represented the climax, which was followed by violent excesses against Bosnian Serbs and, after the outbreak of the war, arrests and internment. About 5,000 Bosnian Serb families fled to Serbia and Montenegro and probably more than 5,000 Bosnian Serb volunteers served in Serbian and Montenegrin units in 1914/15.[132]

Archives WA

Sarajevo 1910. Serbian schoolgirls in national costume on the way to the so-called 'children's homage' to Emperor Franz Joseph.

Bosnian Serbs in the k.u.k. Army

As Bosnia-Herzegovina was the only administrative region of Austria-Hungary in which Serbs constituted the largest ethnic group, Serbs represented almost half of the enlisted personnel of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. In 1911, of a total of 54,140 conscripts in Bosnia and Herzegovina 24,617 men (about 45.5 %) were Serbs. In the recruiting district of Banja Luka they even constituted 63.9 % of the conscripts with 9,399 men.[133] On 31 January 1913 the establishments of the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments and the *Jäger* Battalion numbered a total of 39,956 men. Of these 15,907, i.e. 39.8 %, were Serbian Orthodox.[134]

As with Muslims, Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina were enormously underrepresented in the officer corps. The statistics for 1913 for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry and *Jäger* show a total of 61 'Greek-Oriental' officers, 35 of them regular, but the majority of them did not hail from Bosnia or Herzegovina. They were usually descended from traditional officer families from the old military frontier, who had the asset that they could speak the language of the country and shared the religion with the majority of their soldiers.

In this context a remark made by the Yugoslav military attaché in Vienna in 1935, Colonel Kaludjercic, to his German colleague, *Generalleutnant* Wolfgang Muff, is highly interesting. He reported that he had become an Austro-Hungarian officer '*on the orders of Belgrade*': '*Hence a number of reputable young Bosniaks became Austrian officers so as to have persons with Pan-Serbian sentiments in their ranks*'.[135]

Serbian Orthodox or Greek Orthodox Military Chaplaincy

The roots of Greek Orthodox military chaplaincy in the Austrian army go back to the year 1758. (At the time the usual term was 'Greek non-Uniate' as opposed to the 'Greek Uniate' churches which recognized the primacy of the Pope.) On

Junior and Field-Grade Officers with Bosnian-Herzegovinian Units according to Religion, Status 1913 (the figures specify regular status/leave or reserve status)

	BH infantry	BH *Jäger*	Total
Roman Catholics	315/200	21/13	549
Greek Orthodox	30/22	5/4	61
Jews	1/36	0/3	40
Lutherans	15/3	0/2	20
Calvinists	6/2	1/0	9
Muslims	1/5	0/0	6

In addition, one Armenian Catholic officer was on regular duty as well as one regular officer without religious denomination in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry.

Source: *Militärstatistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1912* (Vienna: Technisches Militärkomitee 1914), 206.

the request of Archbishop and Metropolitan Paul Nenadovich, an Imperial decree of 10 December 1758 stipulated that an Orthodox chaplain was to be employed in every division of the border troops (with a high percentage of Orthodox believers), as long as the troops were in the field.[136]
In 1834 it was authorized that an Orthodox chaplain with a separate field chapel was to be attached to all regiments with a large proportion of Orthodox men, apart from the Catholic regimental chaplain. In 1858 this regulation was extended to regiments with more than 1,000 Greek Orthodox men (i.e. about a quarter of the strength). The Greek Orthodox chaplains were put on a par with the Roman Catholic ones in every respect. From this juncture on a total of seven infantry regiments (nos. 29, 31, 33, 41, 53, 61 and 62) had Greek Orthodox chaplains.
After the annexation of Bosnia and when the Bosnian population began to be recruited for military service, with Gabriel Zmianović, an archimandrite (a priest-monk) of the Greek Orthodox archdiocese of Sremski Karlovci, an Orthodox military chaplain was employed for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops in Sarajevo in 1882. He remained in this office until 1891 and was then succeeded by a Serbian Orthodox priest from Bosnia itself.
Theodor Jungić, who was born in the town of Banja Luka in 1860, was appointed as military chaplain 2nd class for the spiritual guidance of Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops in the district of Sarajevo on 1 December 1891. Jungić went through the most successful career of any Serbian Orthodox military chaplain.[137] On 1 May 1895 he became military chaplain 1st class and worked from 1893 to 1897 as a teacher of religion at the military boarding school for boys in Sarajevo and in 1898/99 headed the editorial staff of the church gazette *Istočnik*. From 1902 to 1909, in addition to Sarajevo, he performed pastoral duties in the district of Zara (Zadar) on the coastland and in 1910 in Sarajevo and Ragusa (Dubrovnik). After 1 July 1900 he was assisted in Sarajevo by the military chaplain Joseph Serafin, a diocesan priest from the Greek Orthodox diocese of Karansebes.
His work was praised by military leaders at the k.u.k. headquarters of Sarajevo and he himself was decorated with the Knights' Cross of the Order of Franz Joseph in 1902. On 1 November 1911 he was promoted to field archbishop. During the First World War Theodor Jungić served at the headquarters of 6th Army until January 1915, then at the reserve hospital in Ujvidek, from May 1915 to February 1916 at military headquarters in Sarajevo and finally as field archbishop of the k.u.k. Military General Government in Belgrade.

Archives ZIK

Orthodox military chaplains had existed in the Austrian army since 1758. Bosnian-Herzegovinian units were catered for by Serbian/Greek Orthodox field curates in their garrisons. Serbian Orthodox field curate (left) surrounded by Bosniak officers.

Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were guaranteed care by Greek/Serbian Orthodox military chaplains in their garrisons after 1906. Apart from Jungić in Sarajevo, after 1 January 1906 Demeter Janković, born in Sremski Karlovci in 1878, worked as a field curate 2nd class in Vienna.[138] Apart from looking after the Bosniaks of the 1st Regiment stationed in Vienna and Wiener Neustadt, Janković taught as a teacher of religion at the Infantry Cadet Academy in Vienna, at the Officers' Daughters' School in Hernals and occasionally ('according to mission') at the infantry cadet academies in Prague, Anenská Studánka (Königsfeld), Innsbruck and Cracow and at other military training institutions. During the First World War Janković worked at 1st Army rear headquarters, at the headquarters of the fortress of Cracow from July 1915 to 1 October 1917 and finally as the head of Greek Orthodox military chaplaincy with 11th Army.

In Graz, after 1 January 1906 the Serbian Orthodox members of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 were looked after by a diocesan priest from the archdiocese of Sremski Karlovci, Field Curate 2nd Class Stephan Obradović. After 1895, Paul Boldea, a diocesan priest from the diocese of Karansebes, was responsible as military chaplain for the Serbian and Greek Orthodox soldiers in Budapest; he had previously worked for a year in Sarajevo. In 1897 Boldea moved to Vienna as a military chaplain 1st class. He was succeeded in Budapest until 1900 by Military Chaplain 2nd Class Johann Papp, a diocesan priest from the diocese of Arad. The latter returned to the Hungarian capital as a military chaplain 1st class in 1906 and remained there until the outbreak of the war. On 1 May 1917 Papp was appointed field archbishop.
Greek Orthodox military pastoral care was continuously expanded, like the Roman Catholic one, but constantly suffered from the comparatively poor pay of the clergy, as did the entire military chaplaincy. In 1906, Greek Orthodox chaplaincy in the k.u.k. army had two field archbishops, two ecclesiastical professors and eight field curates and one extra field curate in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[139] However, wishes by the Greek Orthodox Church for a special official in the War Ministry and for better consideration to be taken for nationalities in the appointment and promotion of chaplains were not complied with. In 1913, the new standardization of military chaplaincy brought further improvements. At the end of 1914 Greek Orthodox chaplaincy had three field archbishops in the VII rank class, three senior field curates and ecclesiastical professors 1st class (VIII rank class) and eight field curates and professors 2nd class (IX rank class) and 29 field curates in the reserve (IX rank class).[140]

Archives ZIK

Serbian Orthodox field service in the 'Second Bosniaks' during the First World War.

The Catholic Bosnians and Herzegovinians

As with Orthodox believers and Muslims, the Austro-Hungarian administration also reformed Catholic religious matters. About 25 % Catholics served in Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. Like the Orthodox Serbians, most Catholic Bosniak officers came from the areas of the former military frontier.

In statistical terms, as the smallest of the three major ethnic groups, the Roman Catholic Croats were the 'main winners' of Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The proportion of the Roman Catholic population increased from 18.08 % in 1879 to 22.87 % in 1910. Expressed in figures, the Catholic population doubled from about 209,000 persons at the time of the occupation to 434,000 people in 1910.[141]

This development was reinforced by immigrants from Austria-Hungary, the majority of whom were Roman Catholics. At any rate, in 1910 about 47,000 Austrians, 61,000 Hungarians and another 6,500 'foreigners' were living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The soldiers from Austria-Hungary stationed in Bosnia and the non-indigenous civil servants and business people were mostly Roman Catholics.

As with the Serbian Orthodox Bosnians, the Catholics, whose main areas of settlement were in Herzegovina and who were considered the 'poorest section of the population', required a lengthy catching-up process in order actively to take part in political and economic life.[142] For this ethnic group, dominated by peasants and small traders, their religion was just as important as a cultural and, as with the other 'denominational nations', more and more a national pillar. The Austro-Hungarian administration also reorganized the Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Archives CN

The Catholic seminary in Sarajevo, completed in 1896, and the seminary Church of Sts. Cyril and Method. The seminary and the cathedral were the results of the initiative of the Archbishop of Sarajevo, Josip Stadler, who was head of the church province of Vrhbosna from 1881 until his death in 1918.

The Catholic Church

Prior to the occupation of 1878, the Roman Catholic Church was influenced by the special status of the Franciscan Order, which dominated the clergy. Between 1852 and 1878 Franciscan monasteries increased from three to ten, to which the Franciscan order province of Bosna argentina was added in 1856. Apart from the Franciscans, the Trappists established a monastery near Banja Luka in 1868, which acquired mainly economic significance.[143]

After the occupation the Franciscans requested their privileges to be upheld and financial support to be granted for church building, which the provincial administration largely provided. As regards the structure of the church in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself, negotiations commenced between the Austro-Hungarian government and the Curia at the end of 1880. On 5 July 1881, Pope Leo XIII founded the new church province of 'Vrhbosna' with the Papal bull '*Ex hac augusta*'. The province was divided into four dioceses, Sarajevo (with an archbishop as the metropolitan of all the Bosnian-Herzegovinian bishops), Banja Luka, Mostar and Trebinje. The diocesan borders were detailed in 1891, the bishops appointed by the Emperor and paid by the state and a seminary was to be set up immediately.[144]

The circumstance that Josip (Josef) Stadler, a professor of theology from Zagreb, was appointed Archbishop of Sarajevo in October 1881 and not a Bosnian Franciscan and the issue as to the allocation of parishes were to lead to friction with the Franciscans in the following years. In 1883 it was decided that 26 parishes in the diocese of Sarajevo (Vrhbosna) and 9 in the diocese of Banja Luka were to be filled by the archbishop, whereas the remaining 56 parishes were left to the Franciscans as monastery parishes. In addition, a Franciscan priest was named administrator of the diocese of Banja Luka in 1884.

For the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) colonists working in the diocese of Banja Luka a Greek Uniate priest was summoned in 1900. In 1915 another parish was added in the town of Zavidivići and in 1916 the Greek Catholic administrator moved his seat from Sarajevo to Banja Luka. Between 1878 and 1905 the administration spent a total of 2.6 million crowns on Catholic religious purposes.[145]

Archbishop Stadler, who exercised his office until his death in 1918, played a dominant role among the Bosnian Catholics not just in church, but also political and national matters. The building of the Neo-Gothic cathedral, the archiepiscopal and chapter building and the seminary in Sarajevo are especially associated with his name.

In 1881 the separate church province of Vrhbosna was founded for Bosnia and Herzegovina with four dioceses (Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar and Trebinje). Under Ottoman rule the Catholic clergy was chiefly composed of Franciscans for a long time. The Bishop of Mostar, the Franciscan Paškal Buconjić (1834-1910; bishop 1881-1910).

Political Development

Before the provincial diet was set up, the Catholic/Croat middle class involved itself politically mainly in the Croat National Community (*Hrvatska Narodna Zajednica*, HNZ) and the Croat Catholic Union (*Hrvatska Katolička Udriuga*, HKU), the latter resulting from Archbishop Stadler's initiative. Around the turn of the century both advocated a 'trialist' course, i.e. the partition of the monarchy into three parts, an Austrian, a Hungarian and a South Slav one. The HNZ in particular viewed Bosnia as an integral element of the future United Kingdom of Croatia.[146] In the 1910 elections the HNZ won 12 seats and the HKU only four, a clear setback for clericalism among the Bosnian Croats. After 1911 – following a coalition between Serbs and Muslims lasting for one year – the provincial diet was dominated by the co-operation between Croats and Muslims.[147] Until the end Archbishop Stadler fought for Pan-Croatian Trialism, although he welcomed the foundation of the South Slav state (under Serbian leadership) on 29 November 1918 with his signature shortly before his death. On the whole, the Croatian political elite in Bosnia and Herzegovina was torn between the 'Yugoslavism' of a rapprochement with the Serbs and 'Pan-Croatianism' as opposition to the Pan-Serbian challenge.[148]

Archives CN

Bosnian Catholic peasant couple. The Catholic population of Bosnia and Herzegovina doubled during the Austro-Hungarian era.

Bosnian Croats with Bosnian Herzegovinian Units

In keeping with their proportion of the population, the Bosnian Croats constituted about a quarter of Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops. Their proportion of conscripts varied, of course, according to the different recruiting districts, and was highest in the more heavily Croat-populated region of Herzegovina (recruiting district: Mostar). In 1911 the proportion there came to more than 37 %.

Although the Serbian soldiers encountered suspicion at the beginning of the war, this was not the case with Croatian Bosniaks and Muslims. The Bosnian Croats provided the only recipient of the Maria Theresia Order from Bosnia, *Hauptmann* Gojkomir Glogovac of Bosnian-Herzegovinan Infantry Regiment No. 2, who also served with the Bosniaks.

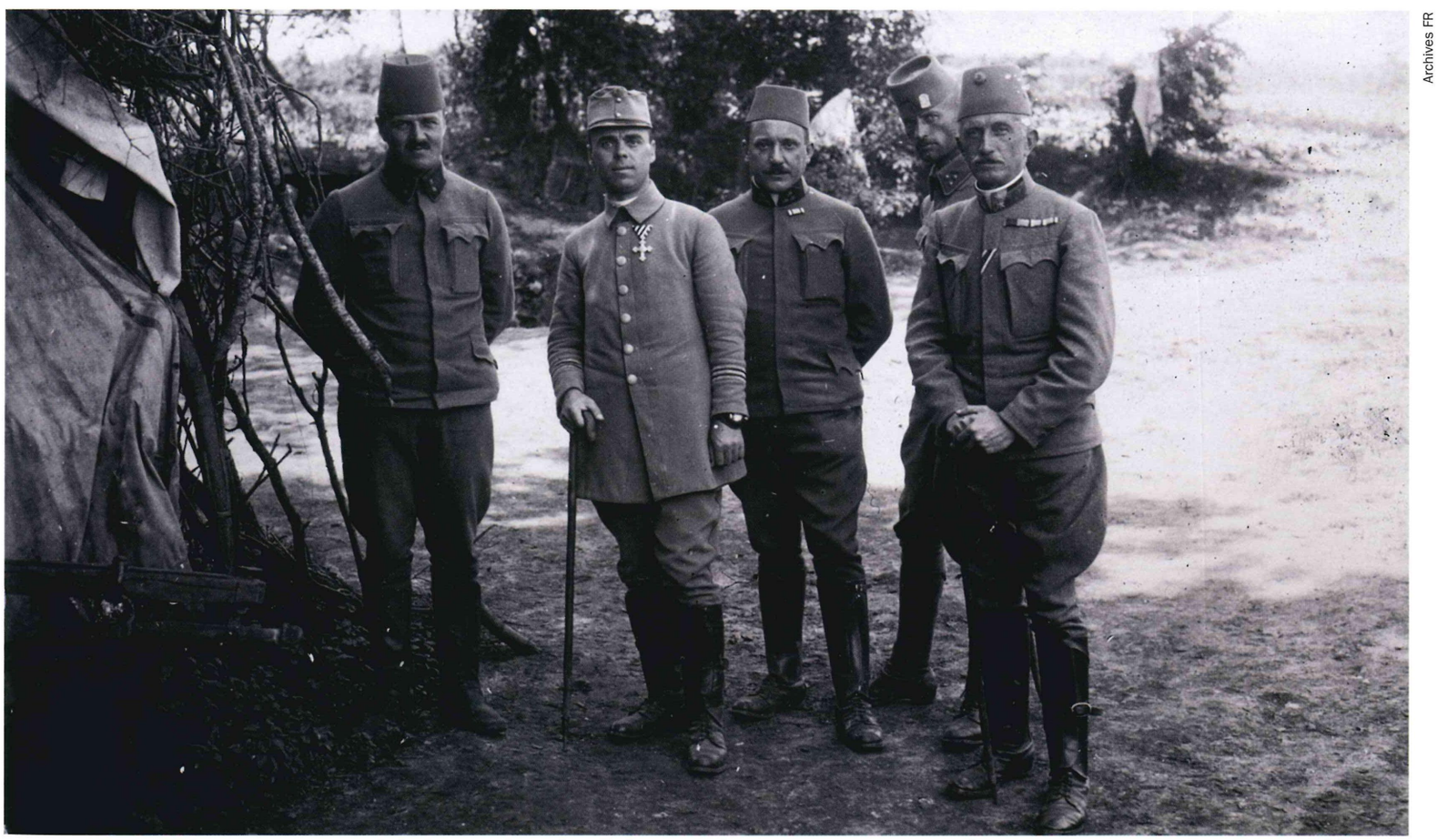
Like the other denominations, the Catholic Bosnians were hardly represented in the higher ranks of the officer corps of the Bosniaks, although Catholic or Croatian officers, mainly from the areas of the former military frontier, served as battalion or regimental commanders during the First World War. Examples are the Croat *Obersten* Ivo von Mihailić (Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2) and his brother Milivoj von Mihailić (Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3).

Spiritual guidance for the Roman Catholic members of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units

was performed by military chaplains in Bosnia. After the occupation a separate military priest was appointed in Sarajevo as well as two curates 1st class and six chaplains 2nd class.[149] These regular Catholic military chaplains were responsible for all the Roman Catholic soldiers serving in Bosnia. At the end of 1914 one field superior 2nd class (after 1 November 1914 this was Johann Hromádka, a diocesan priest from the archdiocese of Vienna) and three field curates 2nd class (one of them for Garrison Hospital 25) were stationed in the military district of Sarajevo. After 1 February 1914 a separate field curate was responsible for Garrison Hospital 26 in Mostar. For Greek Catholic members of the army a field curate was attached to the military chaplaincy district of Sarajevo after 1 July 1905 and a second was added on 1 December 1913.

Archives ZIK

The proportion of Catholic Bosnian conscripts was highest in the recruiting district of Mostar with more than 37 %. Military chaplaincy was performed by Roman Catholic military chaplains in garrisons. Catholic field mass in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 during the First World War.



Archives FR

Catholic Field Curate Kramar of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 together with officers of the regiment in 1916. On the far right the regimental commander *Oberstleutnant* Ludwig Rath. Catholics, who did not usually hail from Bosnia, dominated the officer corps of the Bosniaks.

Other Religious Communities

By comparison with the three major denominations of Bosnia and Herzegovina the other religious communities played a quantitatively very minor role. At the time of the census in 1895 somewhat more than 8,200 Jews were living there, slightly more than 0.5 % of the total population. The Jewish community of Bosnia was originally composed of Sephardi Jews, who had emigrated four centuries earlier from Spain via the Ottoman Empire to Bosnia and Herzegovina. They lived almost exclusively in the towns (more than 95 % in 1910) and formed separate religious congregations, whose statutes were confirmed by the provincial government (Sarajevo 1882). Moreover, the provincial government subsidized the maintenance of the religious school, paid the chief rabbi and granted support for rebuilding the temple, which had burned down in 1879. In 1883 immigrants from Austria-Hungary formed a second religious community in Sarajevo, followed by one in Banja Luka in 1884 and one in Dolnja Tuzla in 1896. The Jewish military chaplaincy had no regular rabbis. The Jewish members of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units were looked after by local civilian rabbis, as was customary in other regions of the monarchy. There were field rabbis of the reserve after 1875. In the course of the First World War the Emperor's Jewish soldiers were looked after by 76 field rabbis (56 of them 'for the duration of the war).[150]

Archives CN

The Sephardic and Austro-Hungarian Jewish communities worked in Sarajevo. When the old temple was destroyed in a fire in 1879, a new, representative synagogue was built. On the right the building of the Corps Comand XV can be seen.

In 1879 there were just 249 Protestants and other Christians living within Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their number increased through immigration. In 1895, 3,596 Protestants, of whom 2,563 were Lutherans and 1,033 Calvinists, as well as 163 Greek Catholics, i.e. Greek Uniate, (mainly from Ukraine) were living there. This development continued in the following years, as was shown by the census of 1910, especially as 'foreign' elements gained more and more influence after the annexation of 1908, but did not change their comparatively small proportion of the total population.

Protestant communities of both denominations were only formed after the occupation. The first was in the district of Banja Luka in 1887, followed by the community in Franz Josefsfeld (district of Bjelina). Separate communities of Lutherans and Calvinists were founded in the capital Sarajevo in 1893. As with the other religious communities, the election of the minister and vicar by the parish assembly had to be approved afterwards by the provincial government.

After 1904, when the last change in seats and duty areas for Protestant military chaplaincy took place before the outbreak of the First World War, there was a Calvinist chaplain in Sarajevo. Lutheran soldiers were attended to from Budapest.[151] After 1 September 1906 this job was taken on by Field Curate 2nd Class Ladislaus Antalffy.

Archives HGM

Jewish Bosniaks with field rabbis in Dalmatia in 1917.

In the 'Storm of Steel': Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops in the First World War

by Christoph Neumayer and Erwin A. Schmidl

On 28 June 1914 the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife were assassinated during an official visit to Sarajevo. In contrast to 1912/13, in the following weeks diplomats and politicians did not succeed in solving the crisis peacefully. In August an Austro-Hungarian 'punitive expedition' was launched against Serbia (Serbian officers had been involved in the assassination plot). Within a few weeks it grew into the Great War, as it was called at the time, which caught hold of the whole of Europe. (Later, with the entry into the war of the USA and other overseas nations, it became the First 'World War'.)[152]

In all the countries of Europe there was an enthusiasm for the war which seems to us macabre today. The Danube Monarchy, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, was no exception. The four (No. III) battalions of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments stationed in the province belonged to the 'Balkan Army Group' under the command of *Feldzeugmeister* (= *General der Infantrie*) Oskar Potiorek, the military governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, the first Austro-Hungarian offensives against Serbia – in August, September and November/December 1914 – failed with heavy losses. The courage of the troops was counteracted by grave leadership blunders and sometimes obsolete tactics.

Archives HGM

A few minutes before the assassination, the event that triggered the First World War. The heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand and his wife leave the city hall of Sarajevo. The members of the municipal council are on the steps.

Archives HGM

The couple lying in state.

At least the Austro-Hungarians managed to throw back Serbian and Montenegrin attacks in the direction of Mostar and Sarajevo in September 1914.

But the Balkans became a secondary theatre because of the heavy fighting and losses on the Russian front. It was only in autumn 1915 that Austro-Hungarian and German troops managed to conquer Serbia and Montenegro in a joint offensive and to occupy almost the whole of Albania at the beginning of 1916. On the whole, this front (from southern Albania over Macedonia to Romania) remained stable until autumn 1918, when the collapse of the Central Powers also caused the Balkan front to cave in. In the border region between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro there was guerrilla warfare throughout the war, as had occasionally been the case before 1914. After the capitulation parts of the Montenegrin army had disbanded and fled into the woods. Combating these bands was mainly the assignment of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian gendarmerie and special guard companies were set up in December 1915, initially in Sarajevo, Mostar, Višegrad and Rogatica.

Archives HGM

The automobile with the royal couple on Appelquai shortly before the attack.

The Fighting on the Eastern Front 1914/15

Writing about the destinies of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units in the First World War is more arduous than might seem at first. As has already been mentioned, the majority of Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were stationed in different garrisons of the monarchy; moreover, regiments were only sometimes employed en bloc. Often single battalions fought separated from their parent regiments. A list, certainly incomplete, mentions no fewer than 36 divisions to which Bosnian-Herzegovinian battalions were attached during the course of the First World War. For the first months of the war the attachments are relatively clear: with the exception of the III battalions, the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments belonged to the 49th, 11th, 62nd and 55th Infantry Brigades and the *Feldjäger* Battalion to the 50th Infantry Bri-

Archives CN

After August 1914 most Bosniaks were deployed on the Russian front. A contemporary 'heroic' propaganda postcard depicting the attack by the Bosniaks in the Second Battle of Lemberg (Lvov).

Archives CN

The Bosnian-Herzgegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 in action on the Russian front, June 1915.

Archives FR

The cadre depot of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 in Pilisczaba near Budapest. The regimental march battalions were trained there. By the end of the war no fewer than 37 march battalions (about 37,000 men) had been dispatched to the front.

gade. (The 49th and 50th Brigades – both from Vienna – formed the 25th Division of II Corps. The 11th Brigade [Graz] and the 55th Brigade [Trieste] belonged to the 6th and 28th Divisions respectively of III Corps. The Budapest 62nd Brigade was part of the 31st Division/IV Corps.)

On mobilization in 1914, the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments and the *Jäger* Battalion were brought up to wartime strength and were sent into the field. The standard wartime establishment of an infantry regiment came to 100 officers and 4,000 other ranks. However, as the III battalions were stationed in Bosnia and were employed separately from the rest of the regiment, wartime strength amounted to only about 3,000 men. After August 1914 most Bosniaks were employed on the Russian front. Let the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 serve as an example. It had been garrisoned in Vienna since

Archives FR

Spring 1915. Officers and other ranks of a Bosnian march battalion before departing for the front.

1894. On the outbreak of the First World War the regimental staff under *Oberstleutnant* Carl von Stöhr and the I and II Battalions were billeted in the Archduke Albrecht Barracks in the Second District of Vienna (Engerthstrasse 226), whilst the IV Battalion was in Wiener Neustadt and the III Battalion and the replacement cadre were stationed in Sarajevo. On mobilization, the three-battalion (I, II and IV) regiment moved from Vienna via Budapest to the Galician theatre, whereas the III Battalion took part in the unfortunate campaigns against Serbia as part of XV Corps.[153]

In the Galician theatre it was quickly seen that Army Supreme Command had overrated the capabilities of the soldiers: in view of the unclear situation the troops were sent this way and that for days and nights on end. For this reason the combat report of the IV Battalion of the 1st Regiment on the initial fighting at the end of August stressed that '*the unaccustomed uninterrupted marching over freshly ploughed fields in great heat and without any water*' extremely fatigued the soldiers.[154] Initially, all the courage of the k.u.k. troops, including the Bosniaks, could do little against the numerically superior and, above all, tactically more adept Russians. Enormous casualties, particularly among officers, were the tragic consequences of the omissions prior to 1914, especially as to begin with it was considered a '*disgrace*' to take cover, as Pero Blašković of the 3rd Regiment wrote in his memoirs.[155] The discipline and gallantry of the Bosniaks were praised again and again. To quote Blašković once more: '*I believe there was no other unit in the Austro-Hungarian army in which discipline represented such a minor problem as with the Bosniaks. They followed their superiors like good and well-behaved children. [...] In the case of the Bosniaks discipline was maintained at the front until the last day of the war and it did not even get lost in captivity*'. Nevertheless, the influence of the officers was much greater than that of even the experienced, older NCOs: '*Not even a sergeant impressed them. But*

Archives SR

The baptism of fire of the III Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 took place on the Serbian theatre south of Sabac. Serbian dead.

Archives SR

The Serbian border town of Sabac after the first 'assaults' by Austro-Hungarian forces.

Archives SR

The village of Srebenica, close to the border, during the First World War.

Archives HGM

Mainly battalions of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 fought on the Isonzo front. Taking a meal in a trench of the Ravelnik position in Flitsch basin, around 1917.

he [the Bosniak] obeyed any adolescent officer candidate newcomer because of his education. [...]For this reason, in action it was impossible to get the Bosniak to move forward without an officer, be it the youngest cadet'.[156]

Over the winter of 1914/15 numerous Bosnian battalions were in action during the desperate defensive fighting in the Carpathians. Frequently under extreme conditions – ice and snow, then in spring 1915 often days of rain – like the other k.u.k. troops the Bosniaks held out against the Russian assaults and then launched the counteroffensives in 1915 leading to the recapture of eastern Galicia and the occupation of large areas of Russian Poland in summer 1915.[157]

The staffs and cadres for calling up and training new recruits remained in the garrisons at home, sometimes followed their regiments and were sometimes amalgamated into new units. The circumstances of the war also occasioned changes in the garrisons: while the regiment moved from Vienna to the field, the cadre depot of the 'First Bosniaks' was transferred to Budapest or the adjacent Pilicsaba. The first reserve battalion was already formed in autumn 1914 and sent to the regiment on the Russian front in December 1914. By the beginning of 1918 this first battalion was to be followed by no fewer than 36 march battalions (with about 1,000 men each). From 1915 on additional battalions (V to IX) were formed, which mostly saw action separated from the parent regiment.

The battalions (the III of each regiment) in Bosnia itself belonged to Mountain Brigades 10, 11 and 12 (all XV Corps) and the 13th Mountain Brigade (Mostar, XVI Corps) and took part in the costly 'punitive expeditions' against Serbia in 1914. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian gendarmerie was employed in the field as well as the infantry and *Jäger* battalions. By virtue of their familiarity with the culture and language, the Bosnian gendarmes were particularly effective here, especially after 1915/16, when Austro-Hungarian troops occupied large areas of Serbia and Montenegro and parts of Albania and set up separate military governments there. In 1917, for instance, a Bosnian-Herzegovinian gendarmerie battalion under *Major* Kornel von Becic was employed in

Archives HGM

During the fighting in the karst on the Italian front water supply by Bosnian pack animal columns played an important role.

the military government of Serbia.[158] But in Bosnia itself, particularly in the areas bordering on Serbia and Montenegro, the Bosnian gendarmes, reinforced by army personnel, had to combat guerrilla bands throughout the war.[159]

In 1915 and 1916 the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments Nos. 1 and 4 remained employed in the south of the Eastern front. Notwithstanding the heavy fighting in the course of the so-called Brusilov offensive in June 1916 (named after the Russian General Alexej Alekseevich Brusilov [1853-1926]), the front against Russia was on the whole considered less 'exciting' than the Western front or the action on the Italian front. An NCO – not from the Bosniaks – wrote in his memoirs: '*Unlike the Italian front, the Russian one was almost cosy, particularly when we were in one position for a lengthy period of time. There was something like office hours: when rations were issued there was a lull in the fighting. We watched the Russians taking their meal and they watched us, but not a shot was fired for one or two hours. If we had fired with artillery, many people would have been killed, but then the Russians would have fired back. The same happened at supper. [...] During such lulls it also occurred that the Russians and our infantry met in no-man's-land and swapped items. So you can see, if it had been up to the men, there would have been no war*'.[160]

In retrospect, this comparison may be correct, but for the soldiers this 'cosy' war always implied fighting and danger. In 1915, major operations had taken place in the course of the advance through Russian Poland, but later, between the offensives, recurrent 'minor' incidents cost lives and wounds and, above all, wore down the soldiers constantly.[161] Often they were merely 'local' actions. Part of the IV Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1, for instance, undertook a raid to eliminate an outpost at the end of July 1916.[162] Somewhat more than a month later, on the morning of 5 September 1916, a small outpost of the 3rd Company of the I Battalion of the First Bosniaks was attacked by Russian troops and it was only thanks to the presence of mind of the 27-year-old Corporal Ramo Kadrić from Zagrdze near Travnik, who had been in the field since the outbreak of war in 1914, that the eight men forming the outpost not only survived, but repelled the much superior Russian troops.[163] To carry out such raids, particularly suitable soldiers were combined into *Jagdkommandos* (commando units). Such a unit of the First Bosniaks infiltrated into the Russian lines on 18 September 1916 to capture a machine gun, but suffered four dead, 38 wounded and five missing. As these raids were usually carried out under cover of darkness, the soldiers were identified by white marks (made of newspaper) on their backs or on the rear of their headgear.[164]

Between such periods of relative quiet and occasional raids there were days and weeks of the hardest fighting on the Russian front, such as during the already mentioned Brusilov offensive. The First Bosniaks, the three 'old' battalions and the newly formed VI Battalion, were employed in the group commanded by the German *Oberst* Graf Zedwitz in August 1916. He extolled that the regiment had '*performed excellently. [...] The conduct of officers and men was above all praise*'. Another superior made the following judgement about the VI Battalion: '*Throughout the fighting the conduct of the officers and all the men was exemplary and marked by heroic gallantry*'.[165] The battalion held its lines against the advancing Russians and only fell back once the ammunition had been exhausted and they were threatened by encirclement. In only two days the battalion lost 13 officers and 550 men, almost half its strength.[166] Although the majority of the regiment remained on the Eastern front until the end of 1917, in autumn 1916 the VI Battalion was transferred to Romania and then to the Adriatic for coastal protection.

The Emperor's Serbian Soldiers

After the assassination of the heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, in June 1914 and the outbreak of the war against Serbia and Russia the question arose as to the reliability and behaviour of the Bosnian Serbs in the k.u.k. army. After the assassination anti-Serbian demonstrations and attacks on Serbian property took place in Sarajevo. The III Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment stationed in Sarajevo – it had participated in the manoeuvres for the heir to the throne on the days before – was also employed to maintain order.

At the beginning of the war the civilian authorities sometimes acted extremely rigorously and brutally against the Bosnian Serbs: hostages were taken to prevent acts of sabotage and the Serbian population was deported from eastern Bosnia, the scene of operations against Serbia. As pre-emptive measures, leading political representatives of the Serbs were interned in Hungarian camps, the Cyrillic alphabet forbidden in 1915 and Serbian societies dissolved.[167]

Army Supreme Command also implemented preventive measures in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian units.[168] Initially, the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments were only allowed to form two wartime battalions of reliable men. Moreover, Army Supreme Command formed four Bosnian-Herzegovinian reserve battalions of two companies, each also of reliable men – the I, II and IV Battalions in Budapest and the III in Vienna. Unarmed labour detachments were formed of the remaining men.[169] Serbian recruits of the conscript class of 1914 were completely removed from the mountain artillery and also assigned to existing Bosnian-Herzegovinian labour detachments.[170]

These measures encountered a lack of understanding among many Serbian soldiers and especially NCOs felt their soldiers' honour tarnished.[171] After many requests, reserve battalions were formed from the Serbian Orthodox other ranks of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian labour detachments.

Nevertheless, the newly formed march battalions proved to be unreliable in many cases. When the VI March Battalions were assigned to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments Nos. 1 and 2,

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NCOs of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3. Serbian Orthodox NCOs in particular viewed assignment to labour detachments at the beginning of the war as a disgrace to their soldiers' honour. After many requests the Bosnian-Herzegovinian labour detachments with Serbian Orthodox soldiers were formed into reserve battalions.

the units, which had fought so well so far, evinced large numbers of desertions.[172] In the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3, at the beginning of the war the Serbian members of the regiment had been allowed to choose whether they wanted to fight on the Serbian front or against Russia. Of the roughly 1,000 Serbian members of the regiment only 18 wanted to go to the Russian front and they were transferred to the I March Battalion that was dispatched to the northern front.[173] Subsequently, only individual Serbs deserted on the Russian theatre.[174] In mid-February 1915 the Serbian replacements of the 'Second Bosniaks' proved so unreliable that the War Ministry declared their assignment to VII March Battalions was indefensible. As of the VIII March Battalion, which was to be formed by 15 March 1915, a maximum of 33 % of absolutely reliable Serbs could be assigned; the remainder were to be sent to labour detachments. In mid-March 1915 the commander of 5th Army, *General der Kavallerie* Archduke Eugene, stressed that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian battalions attached to the Balkan forces had been up to standard so

Archives ZIK

In the course of the war more and more elderly Bosniaks were called up. The lack of birth registers led to conscriptions sometimes becoming arbitrary. Two Bosniaks of a labour detachment.

Archives HGM

After 1915 cases of unreliability surfaced among Serbian replacement units, so that the troops sometimes had to be assigned to labour detachments and pack animal companies. But in an overall analysis the problems remained isolated incidents. On the Italian front in particular up to 50 % Serbs were assigned to march formations.

far and went on to say that he expected from the troops and headquarters under his command '*that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian battalions would continue to perform their assignments with honour and by their deeds would lessen the serious blemish burdening the reputation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops*'.[175]

However, in an overall perspective the problems remained singular events. On the Italian front on the Isonzo (Slovenian: Soča), in particular, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops evinced the special gallantry and combat effectiveness that made them into elite units of the k.u.k. army.[176] The greater confidence of the War Ministry in these units was shown by the fact that up to 50 % Serbs of the youngest conscript classes could be assigned to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian march formations intended for this theatre.[177] Under the command of Group Scotti (k.u.k. XV Corps) twelve Bosnian-Herzegovinian battalions, a total of 9,000 men, corresponding to about a fifth of all Austro-Hungarian troops of the first line, took part in the 12th Battle of the Isonzo, the breakthrough at Flitsch-Tolmein or Caporetto (= Karfreit).[178]

Recruitment and Amalgamation of Austro-Hungarian Troops in the Course of the War

As has already been mentioned, even before the war enlisted personnel from Bosnia-Herzegovina were attached to units recruited from other corps areas, e.g. Dalmatia, Croatia, Transylvania. Partly to offset the enormous casualties and partly to enhance the combat effectiveness of the troops, during the latter years of the war soldiers were amalgamated from different regiments. Of course, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments, which were considered particularly reliable elite troops, were also affected. Hence, after 1915 Hungarian, Czech, Polish and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) soldiers also served in these regiments, apart from the Bosnians of all three ethnic groups or denominations. Moreover, in Bosnia-Herzegovina labour columns and detachments were formed that were sometimes organized by regiments and individual officers, NCOs and other ranks volunteered for duty in special units, including the k.u.k. flying corps. Ultimately, it is not incorrect to maintain that Bosniaks fought and died on all fronts: in the Balkans, on the Russian and Romanian fronts, against Italy and even, in individual cases, on the Western front against British, French and American troops.

As of March 1915 every regiment was given a V Battalion, for which the replacement cadre was the common 'Replacement Battalion of the V Bosnian-Herzegovinian Battalions', i.e. the four simultaneously formed V Battalions of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments, in Villány or Siklós in south-eastern Hungary. These V Battalions were mostly dispatched to the hastily reinforced south-western front on the Isonzo or to the Dolomites after Italy's declaration of war. To give one example, a detailed combat report depicts the deployment of the V Battalion of the 1st Regiment on the Krn Massif (Monte Nero, altitude 2,244 m), somewhat south of Flitsch (Bovec in Slovenia) from 16 to 19 July 1915. On Height 2,163 (positions were named after their altitude on the map, e.g. 'Height 2,163') the battalion was relieving a battalion of the 58th Infantry Regiment from Galicia. Dense fog and a violent thunderstorm made orientation difficult. The weather

Archives CN

After 1915 Hungarian, Czech, Polish and Ukrainian soldiers also served in Bosnian-Herzegovinian units, apart from soldiers of all the Bosnian ethnic groups. Conversely, Bosnian soldiers fought on all fronts of the First World War. Other ranks of a march battalion immediately before departure to the Romanian theatre.

improved on 18 July, but the Bosniaks' positions were now under heavy artillery fire, causing severe casualties. On 19 July an Italian attack could be repulsed and the Italians thrown back in a counter attack. The severity of the fighting is mirrored in the losses: in only three days the battalion had lost 105 dead (including two officers), 247 wounded (three officers) and 13 missing, more than a third of the strength, which was given as only 714 men on 19 July. The battalion was relieved on the evening of 19 July and allocated as a battalion reserve.[179]

A month later the V Battalion was employed in these mountains once more, this time in conjunction with soldiers from Infantry Regiment No. 30 (also from Galicia). The commander praised the conduct of his men, who endeavoured to assault an Italian position under very heavy fire, but ultimately had to give up: '*In my own experience and according to the reports of the officers, the conduct of the mixed up troops was generally very good*', but he added, '*[officers] had to intervene several times with pistol in hand and it was also necessary for the field police to clear the trenches of shirkers*'.[180] Evidently, the heavy fighting under difficult conditions took its toll, especially as most of the soldiers had been in the army for only a few months.

In the course of the war a total of up to nine battalions were formed per regiment, but those formed later were usually employed separately from their parent regiments. The III, VI and VII Battalions of the First Bosniaks, for instance, fought in Romania in 1916/17. The VIII Battalions of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments, formed in April 1917, were assigned to protect the naval base of Pola (Pula) in Istria in 1917/18. Even before then Bosnian battalions, e.g. the *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2, had been deployed to prevent landing attempts or espionage in the Dalmatian, Montenegrin and Albanian coastal areas.[181]

In June 1917 even a IX Battalion was formed in some regiments, but disbanded after a short time. However, a complete list cannot be made from the existing records.

Archives ZIK

Twelve Bosniak battalions took part in the first line at the breakthrough at Caporetto. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 4 crosses a makeshift bridge during the advance in October 1917.

The New *Feldjäger* Battalions and Regiments

In 1915 two additional Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* battalions were formed (Nos. 2 and 3, September 1915), followed by *Feldjäger* Battalions Nos. 4 to 8 at the beginning of 1916 and by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 5 in autumn 1916. Although *Feldjäger* Battalions Nos. 1 to 4 were in being until the end of the war, the others, together with portions of the regiments, were restructured into new Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments (Nos. 6-8) as of February 1918. This measure was linked to the reorganization of the Austro-Hungarian army in 1917/18: the number of battalions was reduced to three per regiment. This increased the number of infantry regiments from 102 to 139. Including the four *Kaiserjäger* regiments, the eight instead of four Bosnian regiments and the four Infantry Regiments Nos. 204 to 207, only established for the duration of the war, the Austro-Hungarian army had 153 regiments available.[182] From October 1917 until March 1918 there was also a Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 10, formed of the remnants of the earlier 5th Regiment. When the battalions are counted, a peak can be seen of about 35 battalions with a battalion wartime strength of just about 1,000 men. All the same, these figures fluctuated considerably during the war. The Austro-Hungarian army had enormous difficulties replacing the disastrous casualties of the first months of the war, including a substantial quantity of officers and NCOs.

The developments in weaponry and tactics entailed numerous innovations and changes in the course of the war. The quantity of machine guns was constantly increased and separate 'infantry gun platoons' set up in November 1917. In keeping with experiences on the Western front, special 'assault detachments' were formed for attacking positions and trenches.

Archives CN/SR

Top of a picture postcard (above) and drawing of a metal badge (left) from the 3rd and 2nd Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalions. In 1915 the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalions Nos. 2 and 3 were formed. At the beginning of 1916 Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalions Nos. 4 to 8 followed. *Feldjäger* Battalions Nos. 1 to 4 survived until the end of the war.

Archives SR

NCOs of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2 on the Albanian theatre, 1918.

The First World War as a *Jihad*

When the First World War broke out, Kaiser Wilhelm II wanted to stir up Muslims world-wide to '*a wild rebellion [against the British]*' so as to tie down Allied forces overseas.[183] On 2 August 1914 Germany and Turkey concluded a secret agreement and after incidents in the Black Sea the Allies declared war on the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of November. On 11 November 1914, Sultan Muhammed Reschad V declared the *Jihad*, the Holy War. Three days later the head of the Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, the *sheikh-ul-Islam* in Istanbul, also proclaimed the *Jihad*. In Austria-Hungary there were thoughts about officially requesting the *sheikh-ul-Islam* for a *fatwa* (i.e. a legal opinion) to remind the Bosnian Muslims of their religious duty to fight in the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian army against the Caliph's enemies. But this measure was not taken as it would have been tantamount to recognizing the power of the *sheikh-ul-Islam* over the Bosnian Muslims, and that just six years after the annexation. On 3 December 1914 the Bosnian provincial government received a note from the *reis-ul-ulema*, stating that on 2 December he had received a *fatwa* from the *sheikh-ul-Islam* – on the initiative of the latter – about the *Jihad*. This *fatwa* was solemnly announced in Bosnia. It ordered the Austrian Muslims and those determined to wage a *Jihad* to serve in the ranks of the k.u.k. army, as Austria-Hungary was fighting alongside the Caliph as an ally of the Ottoman Empire.[184]

In the fighting of the First World War, hundreds of Muslim NCOs and other ranks distinguished themselves by special gallantry in Bosnian-Herzegovinian units, just like their Serbian Orthodox, Roman Catholic and other fellow soldiers. An indicator of this courage is given, for instance, by the number of awards of the Golden Medal for Bravery to the members of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units.

During the First World War some Muslims reached the ranks of *Oberleutnant* or *Hauptmann/Rittmeister*, usually as reserve officers. They were mostly members of the Muslim upper class, i.e. landowners, merchants and their sons. Mehmedalija Edhemović, a wealthy merchant from Brčko and a reserve officer in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 since 1899, was appointed 'inactive' (i.e. reserve) *Hauptmann* on 1 May 1918. Mehmedbeg Kulenović-Bajbutović, a reserve *Leutnant* in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 after 1 January 1912 and an *Oberleutnant* at the end of the war, was the son of a major landowner like Ibrahim Beg Begtašević from Poljedonje, who had been a reserve *Leutnant* in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 since 1888.[185] The Muslim delegate to the provincial diet, Ademaga Mešić, served as a reserve *Oberleutnant* in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 during the war. At the beginning of the war the wealthy merchant Mešić was the organizer of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian defence force of 450 volunteers, intended to protect the south-eastern border to Serbia on the River Drina, and equipped it with arms.[186]

During the First World War consideration for the religious needs of Muslim soldiers – like those of all other denominations – suffered from the frequently poor supply situation and the conditions in the field. This is shown by a complaint by the head of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims, *Reis-ul-Ulema* Džemaluddin Čausević, to the commanding general and military governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina, *Gen-*

Archives CN

The supreme religious authority of the Ottoman Empire, the *Sheikh-ul-Islam*, reading the *fatwa* proclaiming the *Jihad* in the courtyard of the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul, 14 November 1914.

Archives FR

In December 1914 another *fatwa* by the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was proclaimed in Bosnia, instructing those determined to go on a *Jihad* to obey this commandment in the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian army. Pilisczaba February 1915: an imam proclaims the *Jihad* to the men of a march battalion. In the centre of the officers present *Major*, later *Oberstleutnant*, Mulo Ibruljević, the most senior Muslim officer in Bosnian-Herzegovinian units.

eraloberst Freiherr Stephan Sarkotić von Lovcen (1858-1939), dated 1915.[187] Čausević demanded that inadequacies be remedied in Muslim military spiritual guidance and reported that '*Muslim soldiers were being sworn at in the most unholy way and that they were being given pork to eat*'. When they refused to eat it, they were told that the *reis-ul-ulema* had given written approval to do so. Thereupon, Army Supreme Command ordered that all Muslim soldiers were to be read their certified rights and stated that the *reis-ul-ulema* had not permitted the eating of pork.

Fighting for Monte Meletta, 1916

It is not possible to mention all the actions of the Bosniaks here. But, as an example, one operation will be described that, like no other, demonstrates the gallantry of the Bosniaks: the storming of Monte Meletta in southern Tyrol on 7 June 1916. 'Monte Meletta' is the traditional Austrian name. But correctly, one would have to talk of the capture of Monte Fior, belonging to 'Meletta di Foza', one of several Meletta mountain chains. The Austrian term comes from the 'front crest' of 'Little Meletta' ('Piccola Meletta') north of the 1,824 m Monte Fior.[188]

The background: Since 1882 Italy had been allied with Austria-Hungary and the German Empire in the Triple Alliance, but had remained neutral in 1914 only to join the war in 1915 on the side of the Entente. The Italian attempt to take Trieste from Venetia and then to advance over today's Slovenia into the Danube Monarchy failed. From 1915 to 1917 no fewer than twelve costly battles took place on this sector, usually termed the 'Isonzo front', after the River Isonzo (today Soča in Slovenia), without the Italians succeeding in taking Trieste. The 'hell on the Isonzo' became a catchword and the epitome of the horrors of war, with hardly protected positions in narrow gorges, where the effects of every artillery burst were multiplied by the splinters of rock, and with the unbearable stench of parts of corpses and excrement in the water-logged shell holes. As one soldier described in his memoirs: '*Bloated and almost bursting bodies floated on the mud that mirrored all kinds of colours*' and emptied their contents into the trenches after the frequent rain.[189] Often the Italian positions were only a few yards away from those of the defenders.

For Austria-Hungary defending against Italy and on the Russian and Balkan fronts implied fighting with only limited operations. For this reason the k.u.k. Army Supreme Command under *Generaloberst* Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf in 1916 planned to launch a surprise offensive from southern Tyrol through the high Alps to Venetia, to attack the Italian troops on the Isonzo front from the rear and thus force Italy to sue for peace.

Despite the short distances on the map (it is about 75 km from Folgaria-Lavarone to Venice), the plan was foolhardy and the unique attempt – unique up to and since then – to attack with an entire army group (200,000 men) in the impassable high Alps ultimately had lit-

tle chance of success. Due to the snow (despite the postponement of the start of the offensive to 15 May there were still up to 60 cm of snow), the poor weather and the lack of supplies and artillery ammunition the troops had hardly any chance in spite of their gallantry. The Italians were by no means surprised, but had made good preparations for defence; there was heavy fighting for individual mountain crests and nests in the rock. On 7 and 8 June 1916 the offensive finally came to a halt in the almost barren country on the southern periphery of the basin of Asiago, in the area of the Sette Comuni (Sieben Gemeinden). Despite territorial gains, the advance could not be exploited into an operational breakthrough into the Venetian lowlands. As the Russian Brusilov offensive also began on the Eastern front on 4 June, the southern Tyrol offensive was halted in mid-June: of the 200,000 men involved, there were 45,000 casualties, including about 5,000 killed. The only tangible success was 40,000 Italian prisoners and 300 captured guns. Nevertheless, by virtue of the performance of the soldiers on both sides, in the memory of both Austria and Italy the offensive in southern Tyrol is considered one of the most important events of WWI.[190]

On Monte Meletta (Fior) the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 was employed together with the k.u.k. Infantry Regiments Nos. 11 and 27 as part of the 11th Infantry Brigade. It belonged to the 6th Infantry Division under *Feldmarschallleutnant* (= two-star general) Alois Fürst Schönburg-Hartenstein and to III ('Iron') Corps from Graz. All the units mentioned came from Styria. For this reason the fighting for Monte Meletta is still commemorated mainly in Styria, and not just because the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 was stationed in Graz for many years.

At the end of May and beginning of June the Austro-Hungarian troops were slowly pushing forward from the north. To open the way to Bassano and further into the Venetian lowlands, the dominating massif of Monte Meletta (1,824 m altitude) had to be taken. The attack was launched from the west, from Val Miela, on 5 June. The Styrians (IR 27) in the north and the Bosniaks south of them advanced bravely against fierce Italian fire, sometimes in enfilade, but had to give up in the evening, exhausted. On 6 June dense fog prevented any action. On 7 June the attack was resumed, although the thick fog almost precluded artillery support. It was only around 1800h that the fog lifted. The attack went ahead, against the heavy fire of the Italians and despite 'friendly losses' to friendly artillery, whose fire support also caused losses among the Bosniaks due to the difficult nature of the terrain. Finally, at 2045h the 'assault group' of the III Battalion under *Oberstleutnant* Stevo (Stephan) Duić managed to storm the summit of Monte Meletta

Archives ZIK

***Oberstleutnant* Stevo Duić (centre) of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 with officers after storming Monte Meletta-Fior on 8 June 1916. A total of 208 Bosniaks were killed during the savage fighting as well as 1,233 Italian *alpini* of Regiments Nos. 1 and 5.**

after close-quarter fighting and hold it against Italian counter attacks. Fighting continued until late in the night.

208 Bosniaks alone were killed in the fighting as well as 1,233 *alpini* of Regiments Nos. 1 and 5. The fighting was grim; during the last hours of the struggle for the summit no prisoners were taken on either side. As many officers had been killed or badly wounded, the assaults were often led by NCOs. All the units involved reported heroic exploits, some of them by young soldiers on their own initiative. It was the fighting for Monte Meletta and the subsequent decorations for the soldiers participating that led to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 being considered the 'bravest' regiment in the whole of the Austro-Hungarian army. At any rate with 42 Golden Medals for Bravery it held the record. *Hauptmann* Gojkomir Glogovac, the first and only Bosniak officer to be awarded the Knights' Cross of the Military Maria Theresia Order during the war in 1917, was a member of the Second Bosniaks.

Flags and Bugles of Honour

This seems a suitable place to make a short digression on the field insignia of the Bosniaks. Until 1908 Bosnian-Herzegovinian units did not have any flags. In view of their complicated constitutional status as units of the Austro-Hungarian army whose members continued, at least theoretically, to be subjects of the Ottoman Empire, it would not have been easy to decide what flags the Bosniaks should bear. After 1908 the situation was different. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops celebrated the anniversary of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Danube Monarchy, the 7 October 1908, as the regimental commemoration day. Undoubtedly, in the course of time they would have been given suitable field insignia, but this was forestalled by the outbreak of the First World War. Nevertheless, awarding flags would not have been easy even after 1908 due to the religious composition of the Bosniaks. The flags of k.u.k. units showed the Virgin Mary on the reverse and were consecrated following the Catholic ritual. How would Muslim and Orthodox soldiers have reacted? But the war prevented such a decision.

After the fighting for Monte Meletta, *Feldmarschallleutnant* Schönburg-Hartenstein requested the Emperor to award 'his' Bosniaks a flag of honour; but one was not planned. Instead, the city fathers of Graz and Dubica each awarded their troops a silver bugle of honour. Some march battalions (i.e. the replacement formations formed during the course of the war to make up for losses at the front) carried improvised flags.

Archives ZIK

German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers with the regimental band of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments had no flags and a decision on this matter was forestalled by the war.

The V Battalion of 1st Regiment on Col di Lana, 1916

In spring 1916, the V Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 was also employed on the Italian front, whilst the majority of the regiment was on the Eastern front. The battalion was in the Dolomites, east of the major offensive, but this does not imply that it was quiet there. On 17 April 1916 Italian engineers had blown up the summit of the strategically important Col di Lana ('Col di Sangue', 2,462 m altitude, today in the north of the province of Belluno) together with its Austrian occupants. Over the following weeks it was important for the Austrians to defend the somewhat lower Monte Sief (2,424 m) and the position on the ridge in-between ('Dente del Sief') until the new positions were completed.[191]

On 21 May 1916 the 4th Company of the V Battalion was deployed on Monte Sief: 34 men on the ridge, 50 in the trenches on Monte Sief and 48 in reserve. An Italian attack at dawn could be repelled and the 4th Company was reinforced by 70 Bosniaks of the 2nd Company. In his combat report *Oberleutnant* Albert Kappelmacher praised his Bosniaks: '*The men behaved very well and calmly throughout the artillery barrage, all of them stood at their posts imperturbably and did their duty excellently. In particular, the conduct of Wachtmeister Method Kubiena was truly heroic and exemplary. Despite being seriously and painfully wounded by shrapnel, he performed his duty as platoon leader excellently for ten hours*'. Another officer, reserve *Oberleutnant* Dr. Ludwig Pivko, confirmed this impression: '*Low-fused [i.e. timed to explode just above the target] shrapnel would have had a strong effect on men with low morale: the Bosniaks did not budge*'.[192]

During the night the Bosniaks made two attacks on the Italian positions. About 50 Italians and six Bosniaks were killed. The Bosniaks also had 20 men wounded. A rifle and two helmets were captured.[193]

In November 1917 many Bosniak battalions were employed in the 12th and last Battle of the Isonzo, the battle that is usually termed 'breakthrough at Flitsch-Tolmein' (today Bovec and Tolmin in Slovenia), whereas the Italians speak of the defeat at Caporetto (Karfreit or Kobarid).[194] The Italians' retreat despite brave resistance also found expression in literature. Ernest Hemingway described the events in his frequently filmed novel *A Farewell to Arms* (1929). Two young German officers, who were to make names for themselves later on, distinguished themselves in the battle: the later Field Marshals of the Second World War, Erwin Rommel and Ferdinand Schörner.

The participation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian battalions shows how distributed the individual battalions were. Infantry Regiment No. 1 (with Battalions I, II and IV), for instance, fought as part of the 50th Infantry Division, whilst the III Battalion belonged to the 60th Infantry Division. The V Battalion was also on the Italian front and fought with the 3rd, then 19th Divisions during the push over the Tagliamento and was then transferred to the plateau of Asiago.

The k.u.k. Orient Corps

The First World War did not take place only in Europe. As Turkey was allied with the Central Powers, fighting also took place in the Middle East. To support their Turkish allies, German and Austro-Hungarian troops fought on the Dardanelles and in Palestine and Syria after 1915.[195] They were mainly artillery and transport units, who acquired an excellent reputation (in his account T.E. Lawrence also praises the valour of the Austrians). Out of consideration for the feelings of the Turks, Austria-Hungary initially deliberately decided not to use Bosnian-Herzegovinian units on this theatre. After all, the Bosniaks had been Turkish subjects until 1908 and the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina had caused little enthusiasm in Turkey. Only a few Bosnians served with the Austro-Hungarian troops in Turkey.

In 1918 this was to become different. At the end of 1917 it was decided to form a brigade-sized 'Orient Corps' to support the Turkish troops in Palestine. The commander was *Oberstleutnant* on the general staff, Stevo Duić, who had led the Second Bosniaks in the storming of the summit of Monte Meletta in 1916 during the offensive in southern Tyrol. The Orient Corps consisted of four infantry battalions and four artillery batteries. In addition, there were one sapper and one telegraph company and the necessary ancillary components: field hospital, medical column, dentists' surgery,

Archives VM

The Orient Corps intended for Palestine consisted of four battalions, three of them from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Instead of being employed in the Middle East, it was used in the battle on the Piave in June 1918 and later during the final offensive of the Central Powers in Albania. The village of Fieri after being recaptured by the Orient Corps at the end of August 1918.

Archives VM

Berat was taken by the Orient Corps on 25 August 1918.

automobile columns and other transport units, a hospital for horses, a bakery etc. Three of the four battalions of this Orient Corps came from Bosnia-Herzegovina: the VI Battalion each of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments Nos. 1 and 2 and the VIII Battalion of Regiment No. 3.[196] The fourth battalion of the new unit was the IV Battalion of k.u.k. Infantry Regiment No. 103 (from Transylvania; about 60 % Ruthenians, 25 % Hungarians and 15 % Germans). The total strength of the four battalions came to 7,565 men (at the end of February 1918), and about half of them were combat troops. The Orient Corps was formed in Belgrade, in occupied Serbia.[197]

Although the Orient Corps had been carefully prepared for operations in Palestine and Syria, it was never deployed there. Departure was delayed for the most differing reasons. Its first deployment finally took place in Austro-Hungarian occupied Kosovo in April and May 1917 to mop up Serbian partisans. In June 1918 the four infantry battalions were transferred to the Italian front as a regiment-sized group, but retaining the name. In this form the Orient Corps was employed during the Piave offensive.

As has already been mentioned, in the 12th Battle of the Isonzo in November 1917 the Austro-Hungarian and German troops had succeeded in pushing back the Italian front from the Isonzo to the Piave. They were just in front of Venice, and in June 1918 Austro-Hungarian Army Supreme Command hoped to achieve another success on the Italian front with a final effort. During the Piave offensive the Orient Corps was employed on the extreme south flank and had the difficult mission of attacking in the hot and humid delta of the Piave, which was intersected by countless water courses and lagoons. Moreover, the Piave was flooding, which not only aggravated the crossing, but also supply afterwards.[198]

However, Austria-Hungary's military capabilities were too weak to achieve a breakthrough, especially as the Italians were already being supported by strong British and also U.S. forces. The Austrian troops, including the Orient Corps, managed to cross the river in some places and to advance a few kilometres, but the hoped-for success did not come about. The attacks over the flooding Piave came to the same halt as the attempts to reach a breakthrough in the mountains. The superiority of the Italians was overwhelming, not just on the ground, but also in the air. Finally, the Austro-Hungarian offensive had to be called off after a few days and heavy losses. The troops had returned to their starting positions by 6 July. The operation had cost 150,000 casualties. Under enormous sacrifices the Austro-Hungarian troops managed to hold up the pursuing Italians on the Piave and to form a new defensive line for the rest of the summer. But it was becoming clear that the Danube Monarchy was at an end, especially as the situation at home was becoming worse and worse, both politically and in terms of supply.

In the second half of July 1918 the Orient Corps was transferred to Albania. The

majority of Albania had been occupied by Austro-Hungarian troops since the beginning of 1916; there were only Italian and French forces in the south (Valona/Vlore).[199] At the beginning of July 1918 they had launched an offensive and made initial gains against the weak Austro-Hungarian forces. To prepare a counter-offensive, one of the most capable k.u.k. generals, *Generaloberst* Karl Freiherr von Pflanzer-Baltin, was entrusted with command of the new 'Army Group Albania' (previously XIX Corps). The additional troops he was provided with included the Orient Corps.

The offensive began on 22 August 1918 and the Orient Corps was to break through the centre of the enemy front and then push towards Fieri and Berat (Berati). The first objectives, for which two days had been calculated, were taken within only six hours on the morning of the first day! Fieri and Berat were taken on 25 August. The Orient Corps has been justifiably praised as the pillar of this final Austro-Hungarian offensive of the First World War and it was particularly to the credit of *Oberstleutnant* Duić that he managed to forge an operational force out of his motley unit within a short time.

However, in view of the difficult supply situation and the risk that his formation might be decimated by rampant malaria, Pflanzer-Baltin prudently decided not to advance further, but to hold this line. It held until the end of the war, when the Balkan front disintegrated as a result of the collapse of Bulgaria and then Austria-Hungary.

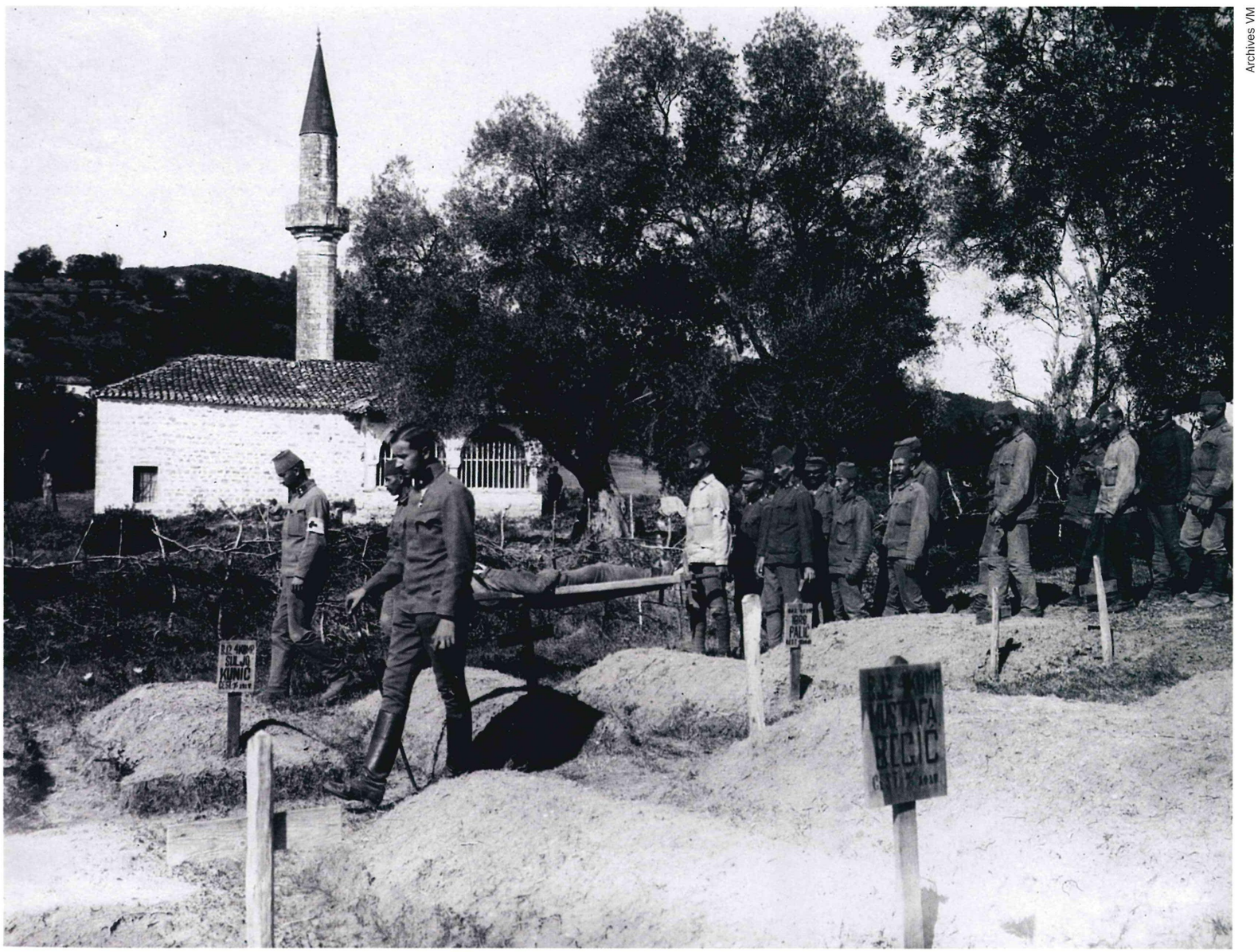
End and Beginning

What may the Bosniaks have thought when they celebrated – to the extent that that was possible at all at the front – their respective regimental commemo-

Archives VM

Malaria decimated the troops in Albania more than the fighting. Malaria immunization at the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2.

ration days on 7 October 1918? The Danube Monarchy had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina exactly ten years before. In October 1918 not much was left of the splendour of peacetime and a month later the monarchy had already disintegrated.
In those very first days of November 1918 reserve *Oberleutnant* Stanislaus (Stanko) Masić reached the area north of Udine with a march formation of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1. Masić, a lawyer from Laibach (Ljubljana in Slovenia), had been at war since December 1914, when he went to the regiment in the field with the 1st Reserve Battalion, and had then fought in Russia and Romania. There he had been wounded in 1916 and was then assigned to the replacement battalion and in-between to the 2nd Regiment. He should really have been dispatched to Monte Grappa with his Bosniaks, but events forestalled this. In October 1918, a South Slav National Assembly had formed in Agram (Zagreb) in Croatia and the Danube Monarchy slowly fell apart into the new 'national states'. On 24 October 1918 a major Italian offensive was launched at Vittorio (Vittorio Veneto) to split the two Austro-Hungarian army groups in Tyrol and on the Piave. Despite initial success in defence, a cease fire had to be signed on 3 November 1918 (in Villa Giusti near Padua). The war on the Italian front was over.
For *Oberleutnant* Masić this meant that he did not have to take his men to the front, as planned, but home. The Bosniaks marched over the Plöcken Pass to Carinthia. The 1,357 m Plöcken Pass (Ital.: Passo di Monte Croce Carnico) in the Carnic Alps leads from Timau in Friuli in Italy to Kötschach-Mauthen in the valley of the Gail (Carinthia).
On the way into the valley to Mauthen



Archives VM

Burial of a Bosniak who died of malaria in Albania in September 1918.

the orders came to lay down all weapons and ammunition and burn the rifles. Masić later remembered: '*We carried out the orders, but this separation from our weapons made a very distressing impression on all of us, both officers and other ranks. When the men saw their rifles catching fire, they approached me one after the other with the remark: 'Herr Oberleutnant, now we are no longer soldiers*'. All the same, discipline was maintained. They went by railway via Villach to Laibach (Ljubljana), where officers and other ranks took leave from one another.[200]

Although the soldiers returned home from the fronts relatively quickly and in good order in November 1918, this was not the case for tens of thousands, namely for the prisoners of war. Since 1914 thousands of Bosniaks had gone into captivity, mainly on the Russian front, but then also on the Italian one. The treatment of prisoners in the First World War had initially been characterized by chivalry, but this did not last long. After the outbreak of the revolutions in Russia in 1917 the situation of the prisoners of war deteriorated disastrously, some of them only returning home at the beginning of the 1920s.

Archives FR

Finally, captivity lay in store for many Bosniaks who had fought to the very end. In Italian captivity Bosniaks particularly were initially treated very harshly. The Italians had been especially afraid of the 'Orientali'.

Archives VM

Whereas Bosnian-Herzegovinian soldiers in the prison camps of the Western Allies could reckon on returning home to the new SHS State soon, the return from Russian camps often proved to be arduous and lengthy because of the Russian Civil War.

Epilogue and Legacy

With the collapse of the Danube Monarchy in November 1918, the history of the k.u.k. Bosniaks also came to an end. Most of them had served the Emperor loyally until the very end.[201] However, in the very last days even the Bosnian-Herzegovinian units evinced signs of disintegration. In Belluno on 24 October 1918 two companies of the 4th Regiment refused to obey orders and a machine gun company of the same regiment ordered to provide assistance '*declared it would not move against comrades in arms*'.[202] Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were particularly affected by the shortages in the food sector, as not always adequate consideration was taken for cultural dietary customs. For instance, the Bosniaks complained about the shortage of bread and potatoes, but were still '*described as reliable by their officers in terms of morale*'.[203]

After the collapse of the monarchy, Bosnia-Herzegovina became part of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes ('SHS State', after 1929 Yugoslavia). In the light of the Serbian dominance in the new state it probably meant the painful end of an era for many Bosniaks.

Commemoration, Monuments and Cemeteries

As regards the civilian 'character' of the Bosniak in Vienna until 1918, he is described by Mauriz Schuster, the chronicler and collector of Old Viennese as '*one of the most striking guys in Vienna, who disappeared from the streets after the First World War. The tall Bosniak,*

Archives CN

'*Seinen Helden*' (For its heroes). In 1929 a relief plaque was unveiled on the stairway to the Hall of Fame in today's Museum of Military History for the dead of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 by the Veterans' Association of the First Bosniaks. The memorial plaque was designed by the sculptor Ferdinand Lugerth.

sometimes resembling a giant from the jungle, jocularly called 'Bosnieur' with a French ending, was a [...] vendor of lighters, pipe cleaners, watches, watch chains, rings, necklaces and Turkish knives and daggers, which he usually carried fastened to a belt on his body. [...] When he found a buyer, the latter was usually astonished by the price, but the Bosniak, who was accustomed to the (oriental) practice in his home country of wanting to bargain the price, had generally charged three or four times the sum he really wanted'.[204]

The traces of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops in Vienna have vanished, with the exception of a small monument. On the initiative of the Veterans' Association of the First Bosniaks, a relief plaque for the fallen of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 was unveiled in the Museum of Military History on 24 October 1919. The memorial plaque designed by the sculptor Ferdinand Lugerth was unveiled in the presence of the former military governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Generaloberst* Freiherr Stephan Sarkotić von Lovcen (1858-1939), who laid a wreath from the former Empress Zita and her son Otto von Habsburg-Lothringen, as well as former Bosniak officers and other ranks.[205] The memorial plaque can still be seen in the Museum of Military History today.

Far more traces can be found in and around the Styrian capital of Graz. In the hall of honour of the so-called Garrison Church in Graz (Church of the Brethren of Mercy) a memorial plaque has commemorated the Second Bos-

In the Hall of Honour of the Garrison Church in Graz there is a marble plaque donated by the last members and relatives of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in 1965.

niaks and their stay in Graz and Lebring since 1965. In the 1980s the City of Graz named a street in the district of Strassgang 'Zweierbosniakengasse'.
In Lebring itself, where the replacement cadre of the Second Bosniaks was stationed in a new Nissen hut camp after 1915 and a prisoner of war camp and a military hospital were set up, the 'Heroes' Cemetery' or Bosniak cemetery has been preserved. It is looked after by the community of Lebring and the province of Styria and is the largest graveyard for Bosnian-Herzegovinian soldiers outside Bosnia. A total of 805 Bosniaks – Christians and Muslims – are buried in Lebring. Since 1998, the 82nd anniversary of the storming of Monte Meletta, a marble pillar has commemorated these soldiers, unveiled by the former general inspector of troops of the Austrian Armed Forces, General Karl Majcen, and the former chief of staff of the army of the (Bosnian-Croatian) Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rasim Delić.[206] The monument was donated by Bosnia-Herzegovina. Apart from the Bosniaks, a further 428 soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army and 437 Serbian, Russian and Italian prisoners of war have their final resting places in Lebring.

Archives CN

In Lebring, south of Graz, a Nissen hut camp was set up with a hospital, separate rail junction and power station after the outbreak of the war. In 1915 the cadre of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 was transferred to Lebring.

Archives CN

In the course of the war prisoners of war were also sent to Lebring. Many Bosniaks and prisoners of war succumbed to their wounds or died of sickness.

Archives CN

Since 1998 and the occasion of the 82nd anniversary of the storming of Monte Meletta a marble stele in the Lebring cemetery has commemorated the 'brave Bosniaks'. The stele was donated by the Bosnian-Croatian Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Archives CN

The marble stele is located in the middle of the Muslim section of the cemetery. It was unveiled by the Austrian inspector general of troops at the time, Karl Majcen, and the chief of staff of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rasim Delić.

Archives CN

805 Bosniaks, Orthodox believers, Muslims and Catholics, are buried in Lebring. The Muslims have wooden steles and the Catholics and Orthodox believers have wooden crosses. Apart from the Bosniaks, another 428 soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army and 437 Serbian, Russian and Italian prisoners of war found their final resting places in Lebring.

The Cultivation of Tradition

In the interwar years there were the first suggestions by former members of the Second Bosniaks to write a regimental history. In 1933 former officers and members of the 'Association of Former Members of the k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2' filled in questionnaires intended to provide the structured contents of a projected regimental history.[207] In correspondence with the director of the war archives, Edmund Glaise-Horstenau (1882-1946), *Oberstleutnant* on the general staff Stevo (Stephan) Duić (1877-1934), who was to be the author of the regimental history, went to great lengths to obtain adequate appreciation of the role of the regiment in the storming of Monte Meletta. The former commander of the 6th Infantry Division, *Generaloberst* Alois Fürst Schönburg-Hartenstein (1858-1944), had already written a foreword for the projected regimental history in 1931. The commemoration of the storming of Monte Meletta already began in the First Republic with memorial services in the Garrison Church in Graz.

In the Second Republic the 'Tradition Decree' of 1967 by the Ministry of National Defence laid down the traditions of the units of the Austrian army. Apart from cultivating the traditions of the k.u.k. Infantry Regiment No. 27, 'King of the Belgians', and *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 9, Training Regiment No. 10 also unofficially upheld the memory of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 and, beyond that, of all Bosniaks.[208] The Meletta memorial ceremonies were resumed in Graz.

In 1975 the last living Bosniaks and their relatives together with interested Austrians and Training Regiment No. 10 as tradition bearer founded the 'Association of Veterans and Friends of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2' in Graz. Once an account of the regimental history had been published by still living officers under the leadership of Sigmund Gandini in 1969,[209] it produced further stimuli for visual tradition work. As the successor to Training Regiment No. 10, from 1979 to 1995 Landwehr Cadre Regiment 54 took over cultivating the tradition of the Bosniaks and in 1987 also officially, following a ministerial decree.[210] In 1988 the rebuilt chapel of Monte Forno was consecrated, commemorating those killed during the fighting for Monte Meletta.

Since the 1980s the tradition of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 and in particular the memory of the storming of Monte Meletta-Fior in 1916 have been upheld by three societies in Styria, apart from the Austrian army: the Austrian Society for Bosnian-Herzegovinian Relations (ÖGBHB, founded in 1989), the Society for Bosnian-Herzegovinian-Austrian Friendship (GBHÖF) in Sarajevo and the Society of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Students in Austria (GBHSÖ). The ceremonies – the Meletta ceremony in Graz and Lebring around 7 June and in Lebring on 'Bosniak Sunday' (the last Sunday in October) – were supported in the 1980s by personages such as the Islamic scholar of Bosnian origin, Smail Balić, or the later Bosnian-Herzegovinian special envoy, Pavo Urban, who was the main initiator of the Meletta ceremonies after 1967. In the course of the years, the former foreign minister, Alois Mock, the Balkans expert, Christine von Kohl, Simon Wiesenthal, Generals (ret.) Emil Spannocchi and Wilhelm Kuntner or the publicist Alphons Dalma could be won as speakers. In the 1990s, Pavo Urban assumed the second family name of Ibruljević, in memory of the Muslim officer, Mulo Ibruljević, who had been a friend of his father's.

Archives ZIK

The 'Association of Former Members of the k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2' already set an example of cultivating tradition in Graz during the First Republic. Stevo Duić was to write a regimental history.

In the course of the reorganization of the Austrian army, the cultivation of tradition passed over from Landwehr Cadre Regiment 54 to Headquarters Battalion 1 and, finally, to the Centre for International Co-operation in Graz. In recent years the Meletta ceremonies have taken place either at the Bosniak cemetery in Lebring or, as in 2005, directly at the site of the fighting on the plateau of Asiago in the Sette Comuni in Italy. In 1996, members of the Austrian army (engineers from Leibnitz) set up a memorial at Alm Slapeur on Monte Meletta to commemorate the storming of the mountain by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 and the victims on both sides. In 2007, the Meletta ceremony was held in Sarajevo.[211]

In 1989 the living members of the Second Bosniaks donated a flag ribbon to Landwehr Cadre Regiment 54 as the tradition

Archives ZIK

After 1987 Landwehr Cadre Regiment 54 of the Austrian army also officially assumed the task of cultivating the tradition of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. In 1988, the rebuilt Monte Forno Chapel was consecrated, commemorating the victims of the fighting on Monte Meletta.

Archives ZIK

On 7 September 1996 the memorial to the Bosniaks that had been built by members of the Austrian army with help from engineers from Leibnitz was unveiled on Alm Slapeur at the foot of Monte Meletta-Fior.

Archives CN

On the Austro-Hungarian cemetery in Log pod Mangartom (Mittelbreth) behind the Isonzo front there is a memorial already erected during the First World War. There was also a military mosque in Mittelbreth.

Archives CN

The memorial designed by Ladislav Kofranek shows a member of the *Landwehr* Mountain Troops and a Bosniak of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4. Both gaze up to the Rombon Massif, which was the scene of heavy fighting and could not be taken by Italian troops.

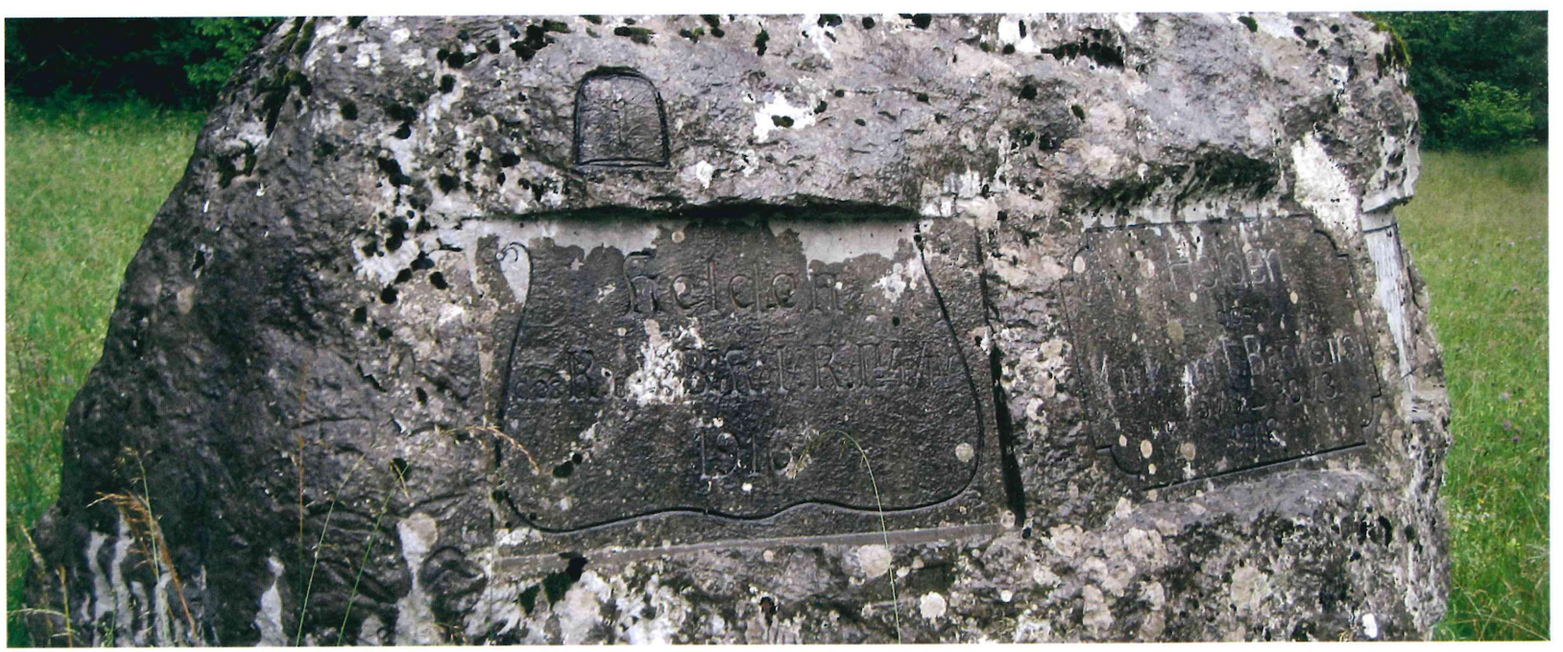
bearer, which is now kept in the Centre for International Co-operation. In 2000 the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time, Alija Izetbegović, also donated a flag ribbon as a token of friendship with Austria and the Austrian army. The ribbon was handed over to Headquarters Battalion 1 for safekeeping and use.[212]

On the erstwhile battlefields of the First World War the traces of the Bosniaks can be most readily be seen on the monument in Mittelbreth/Log pod Mangartom on the former Isonzo front. On the memorial designed by the Prague artist Ladislav Kofranek on the Austro-Hungarian military cemetery a member of the *Landwehr* Mountain Troops and a Bosniak of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 gaze in the direction of the Rombon Massif, which the Italians were not able to capture despite years of fighting. More Bosniak cemeteries – well kept and not well kept – can be found along the former fronts in the east and on the Isonzo or the front in southern Tyrol, wherever Bosniaks fought and died for the Austro-Hungarian army.

The cemeteries in western Galicia, set up by the Austro-Hungarian War Graves Commission in Cracow during the war, are recorded. In 14 of the total of 400 graveyards (22 in Cracow itself and 378 outside the area) Bosniaks are buried.[213]

On a different sector of the Isonzo front there are further traces of the Bosniaks of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4. The memorial below Alm Zagreben commemorates the Bosnian victims of avalanches.

Archives CN



In Lepena Valley a fez is carved into a rock commemorating the 'heroes' of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4, who served there in 1916.

Cemeteries in Western Galicia with the Graves of Bosnians and Herzegovinians	
Cemetery (place/no.)	**Bosnian-Herzegovinian unit**
Biadoliny (no. 271)	BH IR No. 1
Brzesko (no. 276)	BH IR No. 1
Czchów Ortsfriedhof (no. 297)	BH IR No. 1
Grybów (no. 130)	BH IR No. 2; BH IR No. 3
Jodłowa local cemetery (no. 231)	BH IR No. 2
Jodłowa (no. 232)	BH IR No. 2
Lubcza Szczepanowjka (near Height 419; no. 193)	BH IR No. 1
Marcinkowice (no. 352)	BH IR No. 1
Nowy Sacz/Neu-Sandez (no. 350)	BH IR No. 2; BH IR No. 4
Optinów (no. 252)	BH IR No. 1
Sękowa (no. 80)	BH IR No. 4
Szczurowa Ortsfriedhof (no. 264)	BH IR No. 2
Tarnów-Chyszów (new garrison cemetery; no. 200)	BH IR No. 4
Wojnicz-Zakrzów (no. 284)	BH IR No. 1

On the Isonzo front, where units of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 saw action, among others, individual small memorials or inscriptions/reliefs have been preserved. In the area of the Lepena Valley near Bovec/Flitsch, for instance, a memorial stone below Alm Zagreben nad Lepeno commemorates the 15th Company of the Fourth Bosniaks.

In the area of the Lepena Valley there are further inscriptions of the IV Battalion of this regiment, including one with a carved fez. Around Height 1,778, caverns and tunnel inscriptions give reminders of the regiment; near Kal Koritnica on the Isonzo the coat of arms of Bosnia and Herzegovina is visible on a stone slab.[214]

On a rock face of the Rombon above the tree line in Kraljišče the large inscription 'BH IR 4 1916-17' can be found.[215]

Since the First World War a mountain crest near the village of Oslavje has been called 'Dosso del Bosniaco', the Bosnian crest. The mountain north of Gorizia was taken by Italian forces after bloody fighting on 18 November 1915 during the 4th Battle of the Isonzo.[216]

Mementos of the Bosniaks can be found in the Museum of Military History in Vienna and in the Garrison Museum in Graz, but also, although currently largely inaccessible to the public, at the Centre for International Co-operation, the Austrian army unit at the moment entrusted with preserving the tradition of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2.

A culinary rarity should not go unmentioned here. 'Bosniak' or 'Bosniakerl' in Vienna refers to a scone made of dark rye flour, spiced with caraway, which, with a certain degree of imagination, conveys a taste reminiscent of the Orient.[217] The scone used to be called 'Hadschi Loja' after the leader of the Bosnian rebels in 1878, but this term has meanwhile sunk into oblivion.

And Back to Bosnia!

With the participation of Austrian soldiers, policemen and civilian specialists in the many international operations in this region since 1995 a new phase in Austro-Bosnian relations commenced and the memory of four decades under Austro-Hungarian administration took on a new dimension. Austrian policemen were stationed in Mostar as part of the WEU police force in 1995/96, then as elements of the UN police force throughout Bosnia after 1996. After 1996, the Austrian army allocated a transport unit and staff personnel to the peacekeeping forces commanded by NATO.[218] Since the police (2003) and military components (EUFOR 'Althea', since 2004) of the international presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina were assumed by the European Union, Austria has participated in these European missions. Special mention must be made of Austria's leadership of the brigade command in Tuzla in 2005/06.

For many Austrians who came to this 'wild' and 'oriental' country a hundred years ago, despite modernization and the economic and cultural boom after 1878, Bosnia-Herzegovina retained an 'exotic' atmosphere. In their memoirs, the officers and civil servants stationed there wrote about the 'enigmatic orient' with its mosques and minarets and always described the inhabitants of the country with affection.[219] Perhaps one of the finest comments can be found in the memoirs of Ferdinand Fauland: '*For forty years Bosnia and Herzegovina belonged to the old Austria, and that Austria faithfully preserved the fairytale of the Orient the whole time, although it opened its soul to the essence of Europe*'.[220]

Muslim Soldiers in Austria in the Early 21st Century

Over the past decades migration to Austria, particularly by Muslim Bosniaks and Turks, has caused the number of Muslim conscripts in the Austrian army to increase. In 2006 about 1,000 Muslim recruits (3.5 % of conscripts) were serving in the Austrian army. In Vienna, religious or practising Muslims are concentrated in the Maria Theresia Barracks and since February 2004 there has been a prayer room in the barracks. Muslim eating regulations and religious holidays are complied with, also at least partly based on the legal conditions and experiences with the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops up to 1918. Two field imams were introduced in the Austrian army in 2008.

Wartime Life among the Bosniaks

Archives SR

Like the other k.u.k. regiments, at the beginning of the war the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments were equipped with two machine guns per battalion. In the course of the war the machine gun gained more and more in significance.

Archives HGM

Machine gun position of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 in a forest. The 7-mm shield is mounted on the machine gun.

Archives HGM

Bosniaks bring back two escaped Russian prisoners of war.

Archives FR

The Trench Mortar Platoon No. 1 of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian IR No. 1. The M 14 9-cm trench mortar has been removed from its position.

Archives HGM

Bosniaks of the infantry gun detachment of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 with the M 15 37-mm infantry gun with wheels mounted.

Archives HGM

A signals detachment of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4.

Archives ZIK

Officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 inspecting the gun and armoured cupolas of a fort.

Archives ZIK

Like the field cap, when needed the fez was provided with a white piece of cloth on the back so as to be able to identify the man in front in poor visibility or darkness. Bosniaks of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 on the Dnjestr front.

Archives ZIK

On the Eastern front it was often only possible to construct primitive dugouts.

Archives JS

Hauptmann **Rilke (background centre) in a dugout with members of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 4. The Bosniaks are wearing rosettes and the *Feldjäger* insignia on their fezzes.**

Archives ZIK

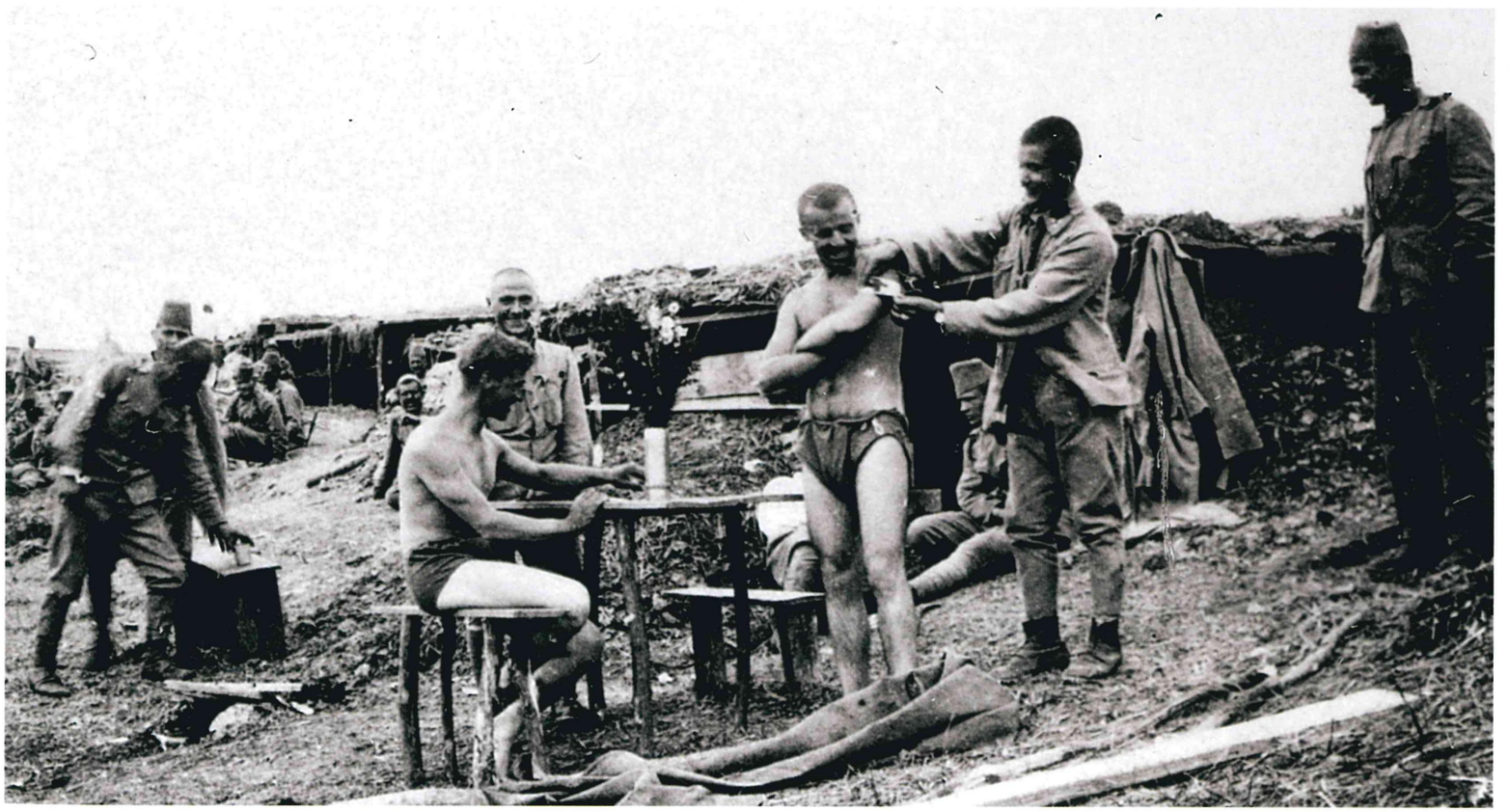
Covered position on the Eastern front.

Archives ZIK

Sleeping in the trenches or dugouts.

Archives ZIK

Dugout in the karst. A corrugated iron roof covered with stones serves for protection.



Archives ZIK

Immunization in the field.

Archives HGM

Emperor Karl inspected Bosnian-Herzegovinian units on many occasions. Here he is visiting the Second Bosniaks.

Archives HGM

Emperor Karl talking to the men on an inspection of the front in Transylvania.

Archives HGM

Emperor Karl on an inspection to Galicia, 3 May 1917. The *Major* (centre) is reporting to the Emperor.

Archives HGM

Emperor Karl visiting a detachment of Bosniaks (second from the right *Generaloberst* Böhm-Ermolli).

Archives ZIK

Great attention was paid to provisions. Gutting a sheep.

Archives FR

Roasting mutton.

Archives ZIK

Preparing a meal in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 in Italy.

Archives FR

Washing up mess kits.

Archives CN

The Bosnian infantryman (2nd from the right) is wearing Italian rank pips on his fez. These stars *'stelle d'activitate'* were popular trophies.

Archives SR

Food issue to the needy by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2 in Albania, 1918.

Archives SR

It was also essential to ensure a supply of drinking water in the trenches.

Heating up a meal on the fire during a lull in the fighting.

Archives VM

Due to the chronic shortage of material a lot depended on the skill of cobblers and craftsmen.

Archives ZIK

Tailor's workshop of the II Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3.

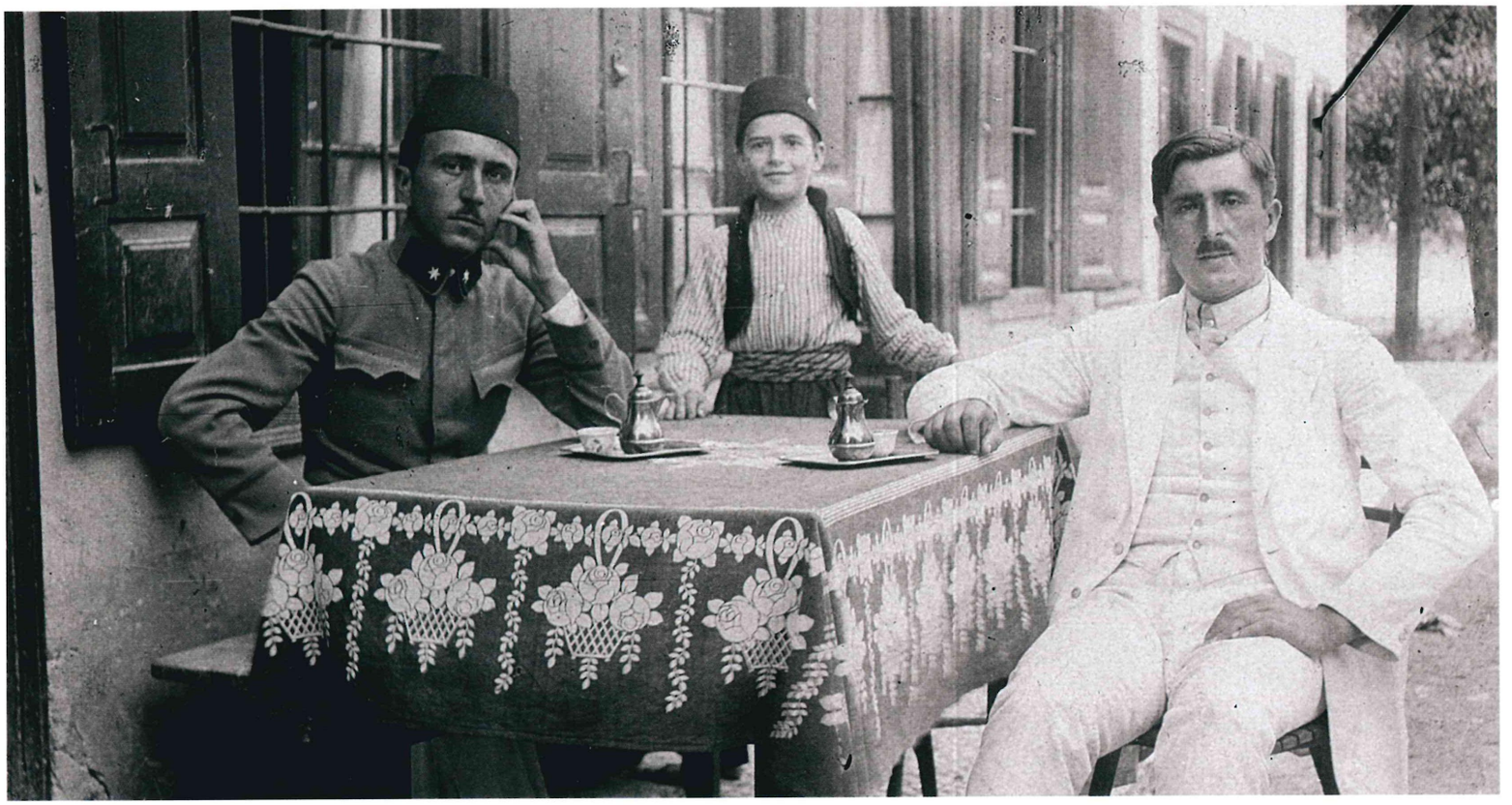
Archives FR

Personal hygiene was not to be neglected. Bosniaks shaving.

Archives HGM

During the war Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops gained great popularity due to their courage and were used, of course, for propaganda purposes. A war painter makes a portrait of a Bosniak.

Archives FR



Everyday life. Drinking coffee somewhere behind the front.

Archives FR

Relaxing and playing cards during a lull in the fighting.

Archives SR

Bosniak with a *saz*, a stringed instrument which originally derived from Persia and was brought to Bosnia by the Turks in the 15th century.

Archives ZIK

Bosniaks climbing up the maypole. Central European customs became part of the troops' everyday lives.

Archives ZIK

Bosniaks dancing the *kolo* on the Italian front.

Archives ZIK

Bosniaks at a tug-of-war wearing the fez and uniform, May 1918.

Archives VM

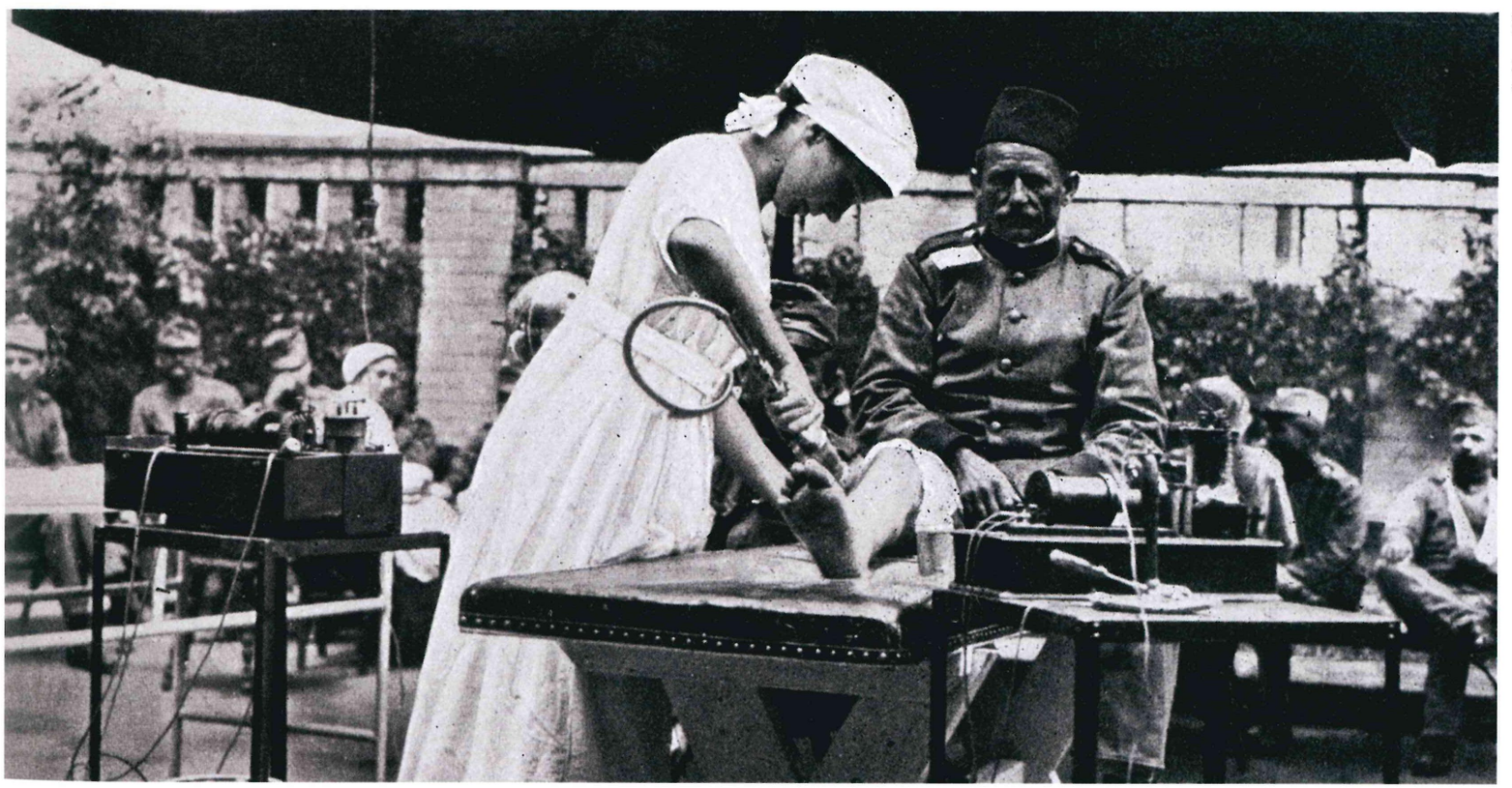
Sporting activities were also encouraged: a wrestling match in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2.

Archives ZIK

Footrace in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2. The finishing flag is black and gold.

Archives ZIK

The losses of the Bosniaks, who were primarily employed in the forward lines due to their combat effectiveness, were enormous. Bosnian military surgeon with wounded in an ambulance.



Archives VM

Electrical massage of a wounded Bosniak.

Archives VM

Nurse with wounded Bosniaks, Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2.

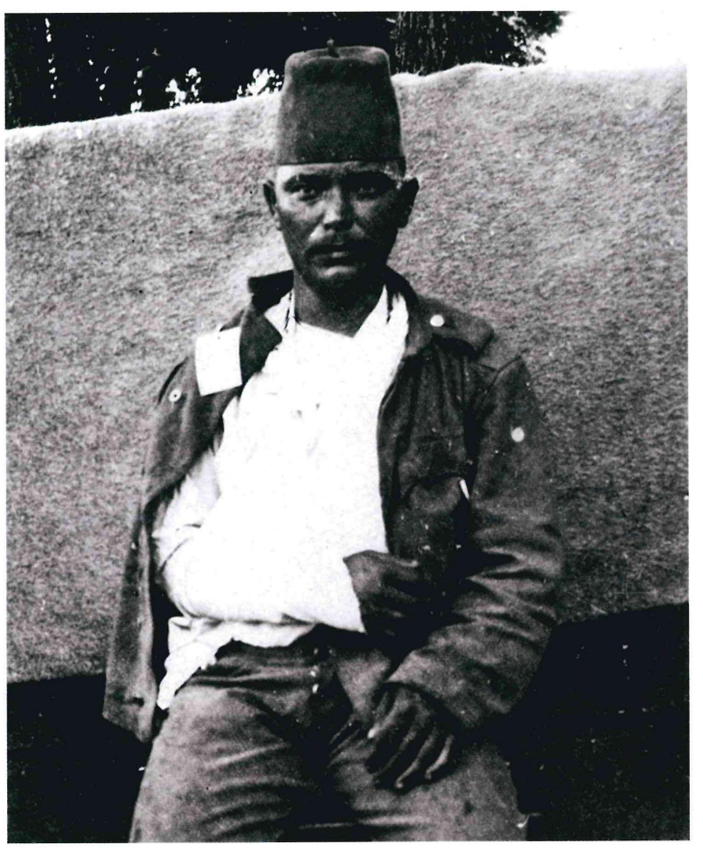
Archives FR

Convalescent Bosniak with two nurses.

Archives ZIK

'Official admission': treating a wounded Bosniak.

Archives FR



Reality: wounded Bosniak after initial treatment at the front.

Archives ZIK

Trying on a gas mask (left) and a respirator (right).

1 Ernest Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler: 40 Jahre österreichische Verwaltung in Bosnien-Herzegowina* (Vienna – Munich 1971); for an overview Rudolf Kiszling, Die Militärverwaltungen innerhalb der Donaumonarchie, in: *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 6/9 (November 1962), 400-406.

2 Indeed, the Austro-Hungarian administration viewed its assignment as a cultural mission in quite absolutist or paternalistic terms. Cf. Robert J. Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (= East European Monographs 78, New York 1981), particularly 14f.

3 Heinrich Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina kreuz und quer: Wanderungen* (Berlin 1896, 2nd and expanded ed. 1897), VII.

4 Cf. Rudolf Hauptner, Die Okkupation Bosniens und der Herzegowina 1878 – Anschluß an Europa: Skizzen zu Wirtschaft und Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina unter österreichisch-ungarischer Verwaltung, in: *Österreichische Ingenieur- und Architekten-Zeitschrift* 138/5 (1993), republished in: *Almanach der österreichisch-kroatischen Gesellschaft* 1994, 94-129

5 Cf. Alfred Horn, *Die Bahnen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina* (= Eisenbahn-Sonderheft, Vienna 1964); Hildegard Mandl, *Die Anfänge des Eisenbahnbaues in Bosnien unter der Militärverwaltung zur Zeit der Okkupation durch Österreich-Ungarn 1878* (diploma thesis Graz University 1989); Richard Haemmerle, *25 Jahre Schmalspurbahn in Bosnien 1879-1904* (Sarajevo 1904); Jovo Simic, *Der Ausbau des bosnisch-hercegovinischen Bahnnetzes* (Sarajevo 1912).

6 For details cf. Ernst Fojan, Geschichte des Gendarmeriekorps für Bosnien und Herzegowina, in: Fritz Hörmann – Gerald Hesztera (eds.), *Zwischen Gefahr und Berufung: Gendarmerie in Österreich* (Werfen – Vienna: Museumsverein Werfen and Bundesministerium für Inneres, 1999), 112-121. here 113.

7 Cf. Werner Schachinger, *Die Bosniaken kommen! 1879-1918 – Elitetruppe in der k.u.k. Armee* (Graz – Stuttgart 2nd ed. 1994), 23.

8 *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und die Hercegovina für die Jahre 1914 bis 1916* (Vienna 1917), 106.

9 Whereas the army and the navy were common concerns of the Dual Monarchy (and were thus k.u.k. = Imperial Austrian and Royal Hungarian), the territorial armies were organized separately for each half of the Empire. In Austria there was the k.k. Landwehr (but the second, the Royal 'k' did not refer to Hungary, but to Bohemia etc.) and in Hungary the Royal Hungarian (k.u.) Honvéd (with the special form of *Domobranci* [home guard] in Croatia), each with its own respective k.k. or k.u. national defence ministry in addition to the common k.u.k War Ministry. To be precise, up to 1889 the army was termed 'k.k', but then as 'k.u.k' or 'k. and k.' to make a clearer distinction, as up to then 'k.k' had referred to both common Austrian and Hungarian affairs and to purely Austrian (Cisleithanian) ones. For the sake of clarity, the abbreviation 'k.u.k' will be used in this book to designate all common institutions, even during the period prior to 1889.

10 As Bosnia-Herzegovina was not part of either half of the Empire, there was no territorial army there, but only the reserve of the existing (common army) units.

11 Josef Rausch, Vor 113 und vor 100 Jahren – Aufstände im Süden Österreich-Ungarns (II): Die Erhebungen in Süddalmatien und im herzegowinisch-südbosnischen Raum im Jahre 1882, in: *Truppendienst* 21/6 (December 1982), 564-570.

12 *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und die Hercegovina* (Vienna 1906), 11.

13 Cf. Carl Glückmann, *Das Heerwesen der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (Vienna:, 6th ed. 1900), 70.

14 *Normalverordnungsblatt für das k.k Heer 1882*, 19th item: ZVO of 18 May 1882, Präs-Nr. 2-883, figure 4. This and the next paragraph were written in conjunction with Hermann Hinterstoisser.

15 Ivan Zolger, Die staatsrechtlichen Grundlagen der Wehrmacht Österreich-Ungarns, special print from *Österreichische Zeitschrift für öffentliches Recht*, II Jahrgang, 5. and 6. Heft (Vienna 1916), 608f.

16 The oath ran as follows: 'I swear to God, the All Mighty, that I will be loyal to His Majesty, the Emperor and King Franz Joseph I and will obey all the orders of my superiors and seniors, even at the risk of my own life'. Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler*, 132.

17 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Kriegsarchiv (in the following: KA), Bestand Kriegsministerium/Präsidialakten (in the following: KM Präs.) 1885, 84.3/2 (written statement of 24 May 1885).

18 KA:KM Präs. 1903, Bo 81-5/2 and 82-2/1.

19 All information follows the surveys in the *Militärstatistisches Jahrbuch* for 1912 Vienna: k.u.k. Technisches Militärkomitee 1914). This – final – volume of the almanac mirrors the status on 31 January 1913.

20 Milena Preindlsberger-Mrazović, *Bosnisches Skizzenbuch: Landschafts- und Kultur-Bilder aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (Dresden – Leipzig 1900), 309.

21 Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Hercegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns* (Leipzig 1914), 106.

22 Circular decree of 27 February 1896, Präs.No. 582.

23 Minutes of the Austro-Hungarian council of ministers of the Dual monarchy *1883-1895*, ed. by Istvan Dioszegi (Budapest 1993), 494.

24 Quoted in ibid., 134.

25 Ibid., 134f.

26 The Austrian law of 29 December 1890, *Reichsgesetzblatt* no. 3 ex 1891, is in agreement with this.

27 For this and the following cf. Alphons Wrede, *Die Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht* 1 (Vienna 1898), 617-626.

28 Ernest Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler*, 135.

29 Wrede, *Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht* 1, 628; Verordnungsblatt für das k.u.k. Heer 1895/8th item: ZVO of 26 February 1895, Präs.-Nr. 558. The standard peacetime strength of a regimental band comprised 1 regimental drum major, 1 *Feldwebel*, 4 *Korporale*, 5 *Gefreite*, 30 infantrymen and 2 students.

30 Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien* (Vienna 1992), I/62; Ludwig Pohlner, Alt-Wiener Kasernen, in: *Österreichische Wehrzeitung* issue 47 (1934).

31 Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon*, II/212.

32 Rudolf F. Marwan, *Schlösser, Kasernen, Soldaten, Ereignisse* (Wiener Neustadt 1983), 84.

33 *Militär-Adressbuch für Wien und Umgebung 1914*, compiled by the k.u.k. headquarters of Vienna (Vienna November 1913), 189-193, 196.

34 *Militär-Adressbuch für Wien und Umgebung 1914*, compiled by the k.u.k. headquarters of Vienna (Vienna November 1913), 191, 195f.

35 Conduct regulations for the main castle guard in Vienna, issued in 1912.

36 Wolfgang Maderthaner – Lutz Musner, *Anarchie in der Vorstadt: Das andere Wien um 1900* (Vienna 1999), 23f.

37 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 September 1911, 5.

38 *Die Fackel* 31 (2/1900), 9f (online version: *Die Fackel*, ed. Karl Kraus, 1899-1936: http://www.aac.ac.at/fackel).

39 *Die Muslims im Donauraum* (Vienna 1971), 7, 10, 20.

40 Theodor von Liebig (1872-1935) hailed from an industrialist family in Reichenberg in Bohemia. He was president of the Bohemian Union-Bank in Prague and member of the Centrist Party in the House of Peers. Cf. Franz Planer (ed.), *Das Jahrbuch der Wiener Gesellschaft: Biographische Beiträge zur Wiener Geschichte* (Vienna 1929), 379.

41 Cf. KA: KM Präs. 34-18/1-4 ex 1918.

42 Rainer Egger, Graz als Festung und Garnison, in: Wilhelm Steinböck (ed.), *Graz als Garnison: Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte der steirischen Landeshauptstadt* (Graz 1982), 30f.

43 Cf. Arnold Suppan, Der Nachbar als Freund und Feind: Wechselseitige Geschichtsbilder und nationale Stereotypen im südslawischen und österreichischen Bereich, in: *Österreichische Osthefte* 29 (1987), 310.

44 Cf. although somewhat polemical: Michael Schacherl, *30 Jahre steirische Arbeiterbewegung 1890 bis 1920* (Graz 1923), 77f.

45 For the following cf. Berthold Sutter, *Die Badenischen Sprachenverordnungen von 1897: Ihre Genesis und ihre Auswirkungen vornehmlich auf die innerösterreichischen Alpenländer* 2 (Graz 1965), 190f.

46 Cf. Helmut Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa: Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna 1997), 510-514.

47 Sutter, *Sprachenverordnungen*, 197, 205.

48 Ibid., 208f.

49 *Amtsblatt Graz*, meeting of 1 December 1897, page 196 (quoted in Sutter, *Sprachenverordnungen*, 212).

50 *Stenographisches Protokoll der Delegation des Reichrates* 1897, 166.

51 Kurt Guglia, Feste und Feierlichkeiten der Garnison Graz, in: Wilhelm Steinböck (ed.), *Graz als Garnison: Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte der steirischen Landeshauptstadt* (Graz 1982), 189.

52 Ibid., 190f.

53 Emil Rameis, *Die österreichische Militärmusik: Von ihren Anfängen bis 1918* (Tutzing 1976), 56.

54 Eugen Brixel, Es rauscht die Musik, der Trommelwirbel hallet, in: Wilhelm Steinböck (ed.), *Graz als Garnison: Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte der steirischen Landeshauptstadt* (Graz 1982), 208.

55 Srecko Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche (1878-1918): Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie* (= Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 93, Munich 1994), 184.

56 Alphons Wrede, *Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht* 1 (Vienna 1898), 623-625.

57 *Seidels Kleines Armeeschema 1914* (Vienna 1914), 78.

58 Pero Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svetskom ratu* (Belgrade 1939); quoted from the German translation of 1986 (copy in the possession of the author), 57.

59 Ibid., 58.

60 Zoltan Bolek, *The History of Islam in Hungary* (http://www.magyariszlam.hu/eng/history.html, seen on 9 September 2006).

61 Law XVII/1916, published on 30 March 1916.

62 Pero Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svetskom ratu* (Belgrade 1939); quoted from the German translation of 1986 (copy in the possession of the author), 304.

63 Peter Pastor, *Hungary between Wilson and Lenin: The Hungarian Revolution of 1918-1919 and the Big Three* (= East European Monographs XX, New York 1976).

64 Pero Blašković, *Mit den Bosniaken im Weltkrieg* (= Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie 3/2001, Vienna 2001), 48.

65 The percentages in the *Jäger* Battalion were similar (42.9 % Greek Orthodox, 31 % Muslim, 24.5 % Roman Catholic, 0.6 % Jewish, 0.5 % Protestant).

66 Cf. Christoph Neumayer, *Der Islam in Österreich-Ungarn 1878-1918: Neuordnung der muslimischen Kultusverwaltung in Bosnien – Muslime in der k.u.k. Armee – Muslime in Wien und Graz* (diploma thesis Vienna University 1995), 80-102.

67 The rank of captain – in the nomenclature of the time the 9th rank class – was at the same time the lowest rank of military chaplain. Military chaplains of the 9th rank class were distinguished by three narrow gold stripes on their sleeves.

68 Kokić' personnel file: KA, GB: Abg VIII-26/122, carton 104 and list of qualifications (same carton 1451). I am grateful to Dr. Christoph Tepperberg for the reference to Kokić.

69 *Militärstatistisches Jahrbuch* 1912. Again the figures for the officers of the *Jäger* Battalion were similar (94.1 % 'Croats', 2.6 % Germans, but 1.6 % Hungarians and only 0.3 % Czechs, 0.7 % Slovenes etc).

70 This speech is published as the introduction to Schachinger's book, 9-14.

71 For details of the annexation crisis cf. Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *The Annexation of Bosnia 1908-1909* (Cambridge 1937).

72 Karl Vocelka, Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie im System der internationalen Beziehungen*, Part 2 (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Adam Wandruszka – Peter Urbanitsch [eds.], VI, Vienna 1993), 247-278, here 269.

73 Dzevad Juzbasic, Das österreichisch-ungarische 'gemeinsame Ministerium' und die Verwaltung von Bosnien-Herzegowina nach der Annexion 1908, in: *Österreichische Osthefte* 41/2 (1999), 265-285.

74 Zolger, *Staatsrechtliche Grundlagen*, 608-612.

75 In conjunction with Trieste and Istria the Dalmatian coastland formed the recruiting region for the k.u.k. navy.

76 These were the 1st, 48th (both Sarajevo) and 18th Infantry Divsions (Mostar) – in contemporary parlance termed 'troop divisions' until 1916 (the word 'division' alone referred to a detachment of cavalry or artillery). The nine mountain brigades comprised the 1st and 13th (headquarters in Mostar), the 2nd (Trebinje), the 6th (Bileća), the 8th (Foca), the 9th (Sarajevo), the 11th (Tuzla) and the 12th (Banja Luka). There were also the 3rd Mountain Artillery Brigade in Mostar and the 5th Fortress Artillery Brigade in Sarajevo.

77 In 1914 these were one battalion each of Infantry Regiments Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 18, 20, 21, 22 (three battalions), 24, 25, 30, 34, 35, 37, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 70, 74, 76, 77, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 90, 92, 93, 100, 101 and 102, apart from the already mentioned III Battalions of the four Bosnian regiments.

78 For war planning cf. Graydon A. Tunstall, *Planning for War against Russia and Serbia: Austro-Hungarian and German Military Strategies, 1871-1914* (War and Society in East Central Europe 31, New York: Atlantic Research and Publications/Columbia University Press 1993).

79 *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und die Hercegovina für die Jahre 1914 bis 1916* (Vienna 1917).

80 Ferdinand Hauptmann, Die Mohammedaner in Bosnien-Hercegovina, in: *Die Konfessionen* (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Vol. IV, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 676.

81 *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (Sarajevo 1912), XXXIX.

82 Agha or aga (Turkish: 'older brother') – in Bosnia: landowner, lord.

83 Kmet (Serbian, Croat, Bosnian): farm labourer, tenant farmer on property belonging to a large landowner.

84 Ferdinand Hauptmann, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1878-1918: Wirtschaftspolitik und Wirtschaftsentwicklung* (Graz 1983), 90f.

85 Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns* (Leipzig 1914), 725.

86 Robert J. Donia – John V.A. Fine, Jr., *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 80f.

87 The proclamation is quoted in: *Pulverfass Balkan Bosnien-Herzegowina*, Part 2 (=Militaria Austriaca 12, Vienna: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Heereskunde, 1993), 11.

88 Corps order of the day, quoted in Ibid., 12.

89 *Die Occupation Bosniens und der Hercegovina durch k.k. Truppen im Jahre 1878*, 6 vols. (Vienna: Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung des k.k. Kriegs-Archivs, 1879), quoted in Ibid., 12.

90 In 1910 the urban population of Bosnia-Herzegovina was composed as follows according to denomination: 50 % Muslims, 25 % Catholics, 20 % Orthodox Serbs, 4 % Jews, 1 % Protestants. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (Sarajevo 1912), XXXIX.

91 *Berichte über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1906* (Vienna 1906), 30; *Berichte ... 1914-1916* (Vienna: K. und k. Gemeinsames Finanzministerium, 1917), 177.

92 A *fatwa* is a religious legal opinion issued by a mufti so as to answer questions concerning civilian and religious life.

93 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Kriegsarchiv (in the following: KA), Bestand Kriegsministerium/Präsidialakten (in the following: KM Präs.) 95-3/4 ex 1.881.

94 *Verordnungsblatt für das k.k. Heer*: circular decree of 4 November 1881, Präs.-Nr. 6.014. For this subject cf. also Axel Bieling, *Muslimische Soldaten in den Streitkräften der k.u.k. Donaumonarchie zwischen 1878 und 1918* (phil. Diss. Hamburg 2007).

95 *Verordnungsblatt für das k.k. Heer*: circular decree of 4 November 1881, Präs.-Nr. 6.015.

96 Here there were similarities to the regulations existing for Jewish soldiers.

97 *Verordnungsblatt für das k.k. Heer*: circular decree of 4 November 1881, Präs.-Nr. 6.015, 248.

98 Ibid., 249.

99 *Das Wehrgesetz für Bosnien und die Hercegovina von 1912*, explained by *Oberst* Karl Czapp (Vienna 1912), 34f.

100 *Verordnungsblatt für das k.k. Heer*: circular decree of 18 October 1893, Präs.-Nr. 5.155.

101 *Verordnungsblatt für das k.k. Heer*: circular decree of 27 February 1896, Präs.-Nr. 582.

102 KA: KM Präs. 26-6/1 ex 1896.

103 KA: KM Präs. 34-14/1-3 ex 1898.

104 Ibid.

105 KA: KM Präs. 81-22/2 ex 1913.

106 *Militärstatistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1912* (Vienna: Technisches Militärkomitee, 1914), 218.

107 Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Hercegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns* (Leipzig 1914), 105.

108 *Ranglisten des kaiserlichen und königlichen Heeres 1918* (Vienna: Kriegsministerium, 1918), 869; For his career cf. KA: Officer's pay application Mulo Ibruljević, No. 162.476; carton 192.

109 *Verordnungsblatt für das k.k. Heer*: circular decree of 18. Mai 1882, Präs. 2.883.

110 After 1910 this was Hadži Hafiz Jusuf Grozdanić. Cf. *Bosnischer Bote: Universal Hand- und Adressbuch für Bosnien und die Hercegovina* (Sarajevo 1913), 239.

111 The handwritten certificate: KA: KM Präs. 34-11/1 ex 1882.

112 KA: Qualification list Bečiragić (Quall., carton 131).

113 KA: personnel file Ahmed Šukri Effendi Bajraktarević.

114 KA: personnel file or qualification list Doglodović (Quall., carton 472).

115 KA: personnel file and register Dženanović.

116 The biographical information stems from the official reports in the war archives and the registers of the military imams.

117 *Militäradressbuch für Wien und Umgebung 1913, zusammengestellt vom k.u.k. Platzkommando in Wien* (Vienna 1913), 95

118 KA: KM Präs. 34-16/1 ex 1913.

119 KA: KM Präs. 34-16/2 ex 1913

120 *Ranglisten des kaiserlichen und königlichen Heeres 1918* (Vienna: Kriegsministerium, 1918), 1.676f.

121 Since the 16th century Christian – largely Serbian Orthodox – refugees from Ottoman rule had been settled in the areas of the military frontier. This was also the background for the emergence of the largely 'Serbian' areas of Croatia, for which bitter fighting took place between 1991 and 1995, with the result that most Serbian inhabitants were expelled, some of them escaping to Serbia and from there to the Serbian areas of Bosnia.

122 For this issue cf. the excellent and highly readable work by Karl Kaser, *Freundschaft und Feindschaft auf dem Balkan: Euro-balkanische Herausforderungen* (Klagenfurt 2001).

123 Emanuel Turczynski, Orthodoxe und Unierte, in: *Die Konfessionen* (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Vol. IV, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 444.

124 *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und die Hercegovina 1906* (Vienna 1906), 123.

125 Emanuel Turczynski, Orthodoxe und Unierte, in: *Die Konfessionen* (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Adam Wandruszka – Peter Urbanitsch [eds.], Vol. IV, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 445.

126 Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Hercegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns* (Leipzig 1914), 667f.

127 *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und die Hercegovina 1906* (Vienna 1906), 136.

128 Emanuel Turczynski, Orthodoxe und Unierte, 447.

129 Dimitrije Djordjević, Die Serben, in: *Die Völker des Reiches* (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Adam Wandruszka – Peter Urbanitsch [eds.], Vol. III, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 734-774, here 770.

130 Martha Čupić-Amrein, *Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1918)* (Berne 1987), 330.

131 Srećko Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche (1878-1918) – Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie* (Munich 1994), 32.

132 Cf. Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (London 1996), 158f.

133 Die regelmässige Stellung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina im Jahre 1911, in: *Militärstatistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1911* (Vienna 1912), 131. The figures of those actually conscripted that year shifted slightly to 43.4 % Serbs, 35.3 % Muslims and 20.4 % Catholics, whilst 0.7 % of the conscripts were Bosnian Jews.

134 *Militärstatistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1912* (Vienna: Technisches Militärkomitee, 1914), 218

135 Report by the German military attaché, *Generalleutnant* W. Muff, to the OKH, No. Geh. 606/37, Vienna 5 November 1937 (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes Berlin, Geheim 61, Paket 570/4, E 271.715f).

136 For details of this and the following cf. Emerich Bielik, *Geschichte der k.u.k. Militär-Seelsorge und des Apostolischen Feld-Vicariates* (Vienna 1901), 290f.

137 Qualifiaction list Jungić, KA: personnel files, carton 1.263.

138 Qualification list Janković, KA: personnel files, carton 1216.

139 Walter Wagner, Die k.(u.)k. Armee – Gliederung und Aufgabenstellung, in: *Die bewaffnete Macht* (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Adam Wandruszka – Peter Urbanitsch [eds.], Vol. V, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 537; and *Schematismus des k.u.k. Heeres* für 1907 (Vienna: December 1906), 1.129.

140 *Ranglisten des k.u.k Heeres 1916* (Vienna: Kriegsministerium, 1916), 995f.

141 *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (Sarajevo 1912), XLII.

142 In the *Festschrift zum VII. Allg. österreichischen Katholikentag in Wien* (5 – 8 September 1909) the Bosnian Catholics were referred to as *'Its [Austria-Hungary's] only friends in the country'*, who exultantly welcomed the annexation in 1908 *'as the end of almost five hundred years of suffering'* (Article by P. Anton Puntigam S.J., Bosnien – unser Missionsland, in: *Festschrift*, 50-53).

143 *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und die Hercegovina 1906* (Vienna 1906), 123.

144 Ivan Vitezić, Die römisch-katholische Kirche bei den Kroaten, in: *Die Konfessionen* (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Adam Wandruszka – Peter Urbanitsch [eds.], Vol. IV, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 342.

145 *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und die Hercegovina 1906* (Vienna 1906), 147.

146 Martha Čupić-Amrein, *Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1918)* (Berne 1987), 350f.

147 Donia – Fine, *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed,* 104.

148 Srećko Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche (1878-1918) – Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie*, 240.

149 Walter Wagner, Die k.(u.)k. Armee – Gliederung und Aufgabenstellung, in: *Die bewaffnete Macht* (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Adam Wandruszka – Peter Urbanitsch [eds.], Vol. V, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 534.

150 Claudia Ham, Von den Anfängen der Militärseelsorge bis zur Liquidierung des Apostolischen Feldvikariats im Jahr 1918, in: Roman-Hans Gröger – Claudia Ham – Alfred Sammer, *Zwischen Himmel und Erde: Militärseelsorge in Österreich* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 2001), 13.98, here 64; Erwin A. Schmidl, *Juden in der k. (u.) k. Armee 1788-1918* (= Studia Judaica Austriaca XI, Eisenstadt: Österreichisches Jüdisches Museum 1988), 80f.

151 Ham, Militärseelsorge, 61.

152 Cf. Günther Kronenbitter, Die Macht der Illusionen: Julikrise und Kriegsausbruch 1914 aus der Sicht des deutschen Militärattachés in Wien, in: *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 57/2 (1998), 519-550. For details of the background cf. Günther Kronenbitter, *'Krieg im Frieden': Die Führung der k.u.k Armee und die Großmachtpolitik Österreich-Ungarns 1906-1914* (= Studien zur internationalen Geschichte 13, Munich 2003).

153 For the fighting in Serbia cf. Rudolf Jeřábek, *Potiorek: General im Schatten von Sarajevo* (Graz – Vienna – Cologne 1991).

154 Report by *Hauptmann* Nikolaus v. Ribicey (KA: combat reports carton 58, folder bh. IR 1, fol. 12-24).

155 Pero Blašković, *Mit den Bosniaken im Weltkrieg*, 5.

156 Ibid., 48.

157 A good overview of the fighting in the Carpathians is given by Graydon A. Tunstall – George C. Tunstall, Die Karpatenschlachten 1915, in *Truppendienst* 29/2 (April 1990), 132-137; and 29/3 (June 1990), 226-231.

158 For details on the k.u.k. military administrations in the occupied regions cf. the forthcoming study by Tamara Scheer.

159 Cf, the memoirs of Ferdinand Fauland, *Vorwiegend heiter: Von einem, der auszog, General zu werden* (Graz – Vienna – Cologne: Styria, 1980), 196-218.

160 Leo Schuster, *'...Und immer wieder mußten wir einschreiten!' ‚Ein Leben 'im Dienste der Ordnung'*, ed. Peter Paul Kloß (= Damit es nicht verloren geht... Vol. 8, Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1986), 90f.

161 Cf. the preserved combat reports of the 1st and 4th Regiments (KA: unit archives, carton 715).

162 Report to the 38th Brigade/19th Division, 20 July 1916 (KA: combat reports carton 58, folder bh. IR 1, fol. 145-147.

163 Schachinger, *Bosniaken*, 310f.

164 Report from Sector 'Max' of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 (KA: combat reports carton 58, folder bh. IR 1, fol. 172f).

165 Reports for the period 10-12 August 1916 (KA: combat reports carton 58, folder bh. IR 1, fol. 156-159).

166 Ibid.

167 Dimitrije Djordjević, Die Serben, 772.

168 Rudolf Hecht, *Fragen zur Heeresergänzung der gesamten Bewaffneten Macht Österreich-Ungarns während des Ersten Weltkrieges* (D. Phil. Diss. University of Vienna 1969), 61.

169 AOK Op. Nr. 133 and 602, quoted in Hecht, 61.

170 KA: Kriegsministerium (KM), Zl.2.W.28-49 ex 1914.

171 Such a report can be found in *Die Einser Bosniaken*, 1. Heft (Vienna 1931), 19.

172 Hecht, *Heeresergänzung*, 193.

173 Pero Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svetskom ratu* (copy of the typewritten German translation), 60.

174 Pero Blašković, *Mit den Bosniaken im Weltkrieg* (= Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie Wien 3/2001, Vienna 2001), 49f.

175 KA: files of Army Supreme Command (in the following: AOK), Op. Nr. 8.055.

176 Cf. Reinhard Eugen Bösch, *Die Haltung der südslawischen Soldaten Osterreich-Ungarns im Ersten Weltkrieg* (D. Phil. Diss., Vienna University 1982).

177 Hecht, *Heeresergänzung*, 332.

178 Marko Simić, *Auf den Spuren der Isonzofront* (Klagenfurt 2004), 185. Cf. also the delightful illustrations by *Leutnant* Karoly Guzikovsky of the 1st Regiment, which have now been published: Wolfgang Alexander Dolezal (ed.), *Leutnant Guzikovsky und die Trapp-Familie: Ein illustriertes Tagebuch aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (= Vol. 28, Österreichischer Milizverlag, Salzburg 2007).

179 Reports for the period 16-19 July 1915, dated 20 July, supplement 4 August (KA: combat reports carton 58, folder bh. IR 1 fol. 113-116).

[180] KA: combat reports of the B.H. Infantry Regiments Nos. 1 and 4, unit archives 1850, fol. 117-122.

[181] KA: unit archives, carton 769: folder 4: b.h. *Jägerbataillon* 2 (1916). A report by the 4th Company of 30 March 1916 describes the physical condition of the men as '*still weak*', but morale as '*satisfactory*'. Most of the duty consisted of '*training the men in anti-partisan operations*'.

[182] Infantry Regiment No. 36 had been disbanded as a punishment, as had the Prague House Regiment No. 28, which, however, was reformed in 1917.

[183] Quoted from Salvador Oberhaus, Des Kaisers Heiliger Krieg: Die deutsche Propagandastrategie im Orient während des Ersten Weltkrieges am Beispiel Ägypten, in: *Journal for Intelligence, Propaganda and Security Studies* 1/2 (2007), 5-19, particularly 7-9; cf. also references to literature there.

[184] Wolf-Dieter Bihl, Zur Stellung des Islam in Österreich, in: *Österreichische Osthefte* 33 (1991), 591.

[185] KA: service record Ibrahim Beg Begtašević.

[186] Werner Schachinger, *Die Bosniaken kommen*, 286.

[187] The incident is quoted in: Claudia Ham, Von den Anfängen der Militärseelsorge bis zur Liquidierung des Apostolischen Feldvikariates im Jahr 1918, in: *Militärseelsorge in Österreich* (Graz 2001), 96f – the primary file: KA: Bestand Apostolisches Feldvikariat, carton 181, folder Interkonfessionell, AOK/EOK to FV, Nr. 40.076 of 1915.

[188] For details cf. Bepi Boccardo, *Melette 1916-1917: La Grande Guerra nella parte nord-orientale dell'Altopiano die Sette Comuni* (Valdagno 1994).

[189] Hans Pölzer, *Drei Tage am Isonzo* (= Milizverlag Vol. 5, Salzburg 1993), 7.

[190] For details cf. Gerhard Artl, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Südtiroloffensive 1916* (= Militärgeschichtliche Dissertationen österreichischer Universitäten Vol. 2, Vienna 1983).

[191] Cf. Anton Graf Bossi Fedrigotti, *Col di Lana: Kalvarienberg dreier Heere* (Munich 1979); Robert Striffler, *Der Minenkrieg in Ladinien: Col di Lana 1915-1916* (= Schriftenreihe zur Zeitgeschichte Tirols 10, Nuremberg: Buchdienst Südtirol 1996).

[192] Combat reports by *Oberleutnant* Kappelmacher and *Oberleutnant* Pivko (KA: combat reports carton 58, folder bh. IR 1, fol. 135-144).

[193] *Oberleutnant* Pivko, a teacher from Marburg (Maribor) in Slovenia, distinguished himself several times during the fighting on the Italian front. Nevertheless, he went down in the regimental history as a traitor. In September 1917, when his battalion was holding a strategically important position south of Carzano in the upper Brenta Valley, he allowed the Italians to infiltrate into the Austrian lines. His reasons can only be conjectured. Fatigue due to his long service at the front may have played a role as well as the influence of Pan-Slav propaganda during a spell of leave at home shortly before. At any rate the action was thoroughly planned. As the main defence position was protected by electric barbed wire, Pivko had the electricity switched off. He drugged the soldiers of his 1st Company with sleeping tablets and alcohol and had ammunition and weapons removed. It was only by coincidence that the betrayal was noticed, and, with the aid of the neighbouring companies, the Italians, who had already penetrated the Austrian lines, could be thrown back.

[194] For the problems concerning the use of poison gas, which played a special role in this battle cf. Wolfgang Zecha, *'Unter die Masken!' Giftgas auf den Kriegschauplätzen Österreich-Ungarns im Ersten Weltkrieg* (= Militärgeschichtliche Dissertationen 13, Vienna 2000).

[195] Peter Jung, *Der k.u.k. Wüstenkrieg: Österreich-Ungarn im Vorderen Orient 1915-1918* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1992).

[196] The different percentages in the composition of these three battalions are interesting. In the VI Battalion of the 1st Regiment there were 49 % Muslims, only 18 % Orthodox believers and 33 % Catholics compared with 42/43/15 % in the VI Battalion of the 2nd Regiment and 32/40/18 % in the VIII Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3. Of the officers a total of 39 were German Austrian, 29 Croats, 14 Czechs and 10 Hungarians. These figures follow Otto Wiesinger, Das österreichisch-ungarische Orientkorps 1917/1918 (manuscript in the war archives: Nachlass B/77, Nr. 12), 4.

[197] For details cf. ibid. and Jung, *k.u.k. Wüstenkrieg*, 132f.

[198] For details cf. Peter Schubert, *Piave 1918: Österreich-Ungarns letzte Schlacht* (Klagenfurt – Ljubljana – Vienna 2000). Although rivers are traditionally feminine in Italian (it was first called *la Piave*), it is customary to stress historically important rivers by using the masculine. For this reason, after 1918 it is usual to speak of *il Piave*.

[199] Erwin A. Schmidl – Wolfgang Etschmann, Albanien im Ersten Weltkrieg: Spielball von Machinteressen, in: *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift* 35/5 (September/October 1997), 545-554.

[200] Letter by Stanko Masić to General State Archivist Dr. Rudolph Kiszling, Chicago, 19 July 1963 (KA: qualification lists fascicle 1904). Masić himself was a civil servant in the provincial committee of Carniola and after 1918 served in the Slovenian, later SHS and Yugoslav administration. From 1941 to 1945 he was called up again. In 1945 he emigrated to the USA. Additional information from the qualification list of Stanislaus Masić (ibid.).

[201] The memoirs of Pero Blašković, who served in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3, finally as a battalion commander, represent a particularly impressive document: *Sa Bosnjacima u Svetskom Ratu* (Belgrade 1939). An abridged German translation was published in 2001 in the Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie Wien: *Mit den Bosniaken im Weltkrieg*.

[202] The companies were finally disarmed by Viennese and Carinthian troops. Four days later the regiment again showed instances of insubordination. (Hugo Kerchawe, *Der Zusammenbruch der Österr.-Ungar. Wehrmacht im Herbst 1918* [Munich 1921], 75, 102).

[203] Report by the liaison officer of 6th Army headquarters on the Piave front, 29 September 1918; ibid., 21, 23.

[204] Mauriz Schuster, *Alt-Wienerisch: Ein Wörterbuch veralternder und veralteter Wiener Ausdrücke und Redensarten* (Vienna 1984), 31f.

[205] Cf. the report in *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 25 October 1919, 9.

[206] Reinhard Stradner, Bosniens treue Söhne: Das bosnisch-herzegowinische Infanterieregiment Nr. 2 – die Elitetruppe der k.u.k. Armee, in: *Truppendienst* 42/6 (November/December 2003), 539f.

[207] The bundle is today the property of the Centre for International Co-operation (ZIK) of the Leadership Command of the Armed Forces.

[208] Cf. Johann Urdl, *Traditions-Chronik*, Beilage zur Dokumentation der Errichtung des Bosniakendenkmals bei der Alm Slapeur am Monte Meletta-Fior (archives of ZIK).

[209] *Das bosnisch-herzegovinische Infanterie-Regiment Nr. 2 im Weltkrieg 1914-1918*, elaborated by the tradition society of the former BH IR No. 2 under the leadership of *Major* (ret.) Sigmund Gandini (Vienna: BMLV, 1969).

[210] Decree of the BMLV of 17 July 1987, Zl 32.310/608-3.15/87.

[211] *Der Soldat*, no. 13 of 11 July 2007, 14.

[212] Reinhard Stradner, Bosniens treue Söhne.

[213] Erich Fritsch – Florian Kotanko, *Requiescant! Kriegerfriedhöfe in Westgalizien 1914-1918* (Tárnow 2002), 204.

[214] Ahmed Pasic, *Zaboravljeni bosanski grb i fes* (http://bosnjaci.net/aktuelnosti.php?id=227&polje=historija, seen on 18 March 2007). A comprehensive list of monuments is given by the EU-sponsored site http://www.prohereditate.com.

[215] Vasja Klavora, *Blaukreuz: Die Isonzofront: Flitsch 1915-17* (Klagenfurt 1993), 148 and 170.

[216] Marco Simic, *Auf den Spuren der Isonzofront* (Klagenfurt 2004), 86.

[217] Mauriz Schuster, *Alt-Wienerisch*, 21f.

[218] The Dayton and Paris Agreements of 1995 provided for the relief of the UN peacekeeping force UNPROFOR by the 'Peace Implementation Force' (IFOR), which was reorganized into the 'Stabilization Force' (SFOR) at the end of 1996.

[219] E. J. Uiberacker provides a remarkable description of the environment in *Bei den Strafunis: Erinnerungen eines alten Jägers und Soldaten* (Salzburg/Stuttgart 1958).

[220] Ferdinand Fauland, *Vorwiegend heiter: Von einem, der auszog, General zu werden* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1980), 197. Cf. also the writings of Anton Frh. V. Lehár (the composer's brother), 'Bergauf-bergab' (war archives Vienna, Nachlass B/600, Nr. 1/II), 17-24.

Uniforms of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops

Uniforms of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops

by Hermann Hinterstoisser

The occupation of Bosnian and Herzegovina in 1878 marked the beginning of decades of presence by troops of the k. (u.) k.[1] army in these provinces (and until 1908 also in Sandžak Novi Pazar to the south between Serbia and Montenegro, which, however, remained under Turkish administration). During the occupation campaign of 1878 it had already been seen that the Austrian uniforms and equipment were modern in an international comparison, but were by no means ideal in the rugged Bosnian mountains with their wide plateaus and peaks up to 2,600 m and the great climactic differences between hot summers and bitterly cold winters.[2]

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New recruits join Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 in Budapest.

Subsequently, changes were ordered, which were frequently preceded by troop trials and in Bosnia especially it was possible to test new uniforms under operational conditions. A report by Department 13 of the War Ministry, responsible for uniform matters, stated in 1881: *'Due to the observations made during the campaign of occupation some changes have been proposed for the marching uniform of the infantry, which have already been tested in the camp at Bruck a/L [an der Leitha] and assessed as thoroughly suitable'*.[3] This concerned details such as a new mode of carrying the folded overcoat or the canteen, which was given a better cap. The attachments of the plate and mess kit were also modified. But carrying trials at the k.k. Infantry Regiment Emperor Franz Joseph No. 1 proved to be against the *'new mode'* of carrying the overcoat over the left shoulder, so that it was not introduced.[4]
Similar trials were performed by different units stationed in Bosnia and Herzegovina with various footwear and different materials for uniforms. In 1903, the headquarters of the k.u.k. Infantry Regiment 'Freiherr von Mollinary' No. 38, stationed in Sarajevo, reported that an experimental pattern of overcoat made of finer cloth was unsuitable because it did not provide adequate protection against the cold and rain.[5] In 1904 light summer uniforms were issued for trial to units of the 18th Infantry Troop Division[6] in Bosnia.[7] In 1906, *Streffleur's Militärische Zeitung* published a report on trials with light denim uniforms of different shades, e.g. grey, in the 'occupied region'. The report concluded: *'The uniforms are very good, so it is to be hoped that they will be*

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Bosniaks departing for the front. The non-military flag being carried on this photograph and some rifles were decorated with bouquets. This was quite usual with troops leaving for the field even after the beginning of the First World War.

introduced universally'.[8] Pike-grey field uniforms were finally introduced in the k.k. Landwehr in 1907 and in the common army in 1908.[9]

Formation of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry

The experiences of the campaign of 1878 and the continued military presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina had important consequences for the whole of the Austro-Hungarian army. The following will deal with the troops recruited in the country in greater detail. Even though the provinces administered by the common Finance Ministry constitutionally belonged to the Ottoman Empire until 1908, in 1881 a Provisional Army Act was passed for Bosnia and Herzegovina providing for universal military service. This measure, which represented, of course, a drastic interference in the lives of the population, set off local disturbances, which had to be put down by the army. In 1882, the male population began to be conscripted for military service all the same.[10]

An Imperial decree of 28 April 1882 proclaimed the 'Provisional Statute on the Organization of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops'. Line service (i.e. regular military service) came to three years, followed by nine years in the reserve.[11] But by no means were all 20-year-old men called up. Initially, a Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry company was set up in each of the recruiting districts (Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla and Banja Luka), which had a strength of 100 Bosnian-Herzegovinian conscripts and 45 officers and NCOs attached from the k.k. army (apart from a few *Gefreite* and 4 batmen). In addition, there were 25 local recruits intended for later transfer to the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina, but who were to receive basic training in the respective Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry company.[12] The officers and initially the NCOs were taken from Austro-Hungarian units stationed in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time and wore the uniforms of their original units until 1886.

Uniform types of the Austro-Hungarian army, around 1908 (from left to right): Landwehr uhlan, Austro-Hungarian *Jäger*, Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger*, 'German' infantryman, Austrian Landwehr, Hungarian infantryman, member of the Landwehr mountain troops, Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantryman, Hungarian Honvéd infantryman, Honvéd hussar, Austro-Hungarian hussar, mounted *Landesschütze*, dragoon, uhlan, sailor.

The religious peculiarities of the country and its inhabitants were to be respected.[13] For Orthodox and Catholic soldiers the military chaplains of the k.u.k. army were available and separate imams were introduced for the soldiers of the Islamic faith (about a third of the conscripts).[14] Religious rules such as eating customs and prayer practices were respected wherever possible, which contributed towards building up trust and preventing conflicts.[15] In the following years the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were increased by four companies every year and formed into battalions after 1885 and the battalions into regiments after 1894.[16] The standard wartime establishment of a regiment amounted to 100 officers and 4,000 other ranks. The weapons and equipment of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments resembled those of the k.u.k. infantry and the drill and weapons regulations of the common army also applied. Nevertheless, it was only after the two provinces had been formally annexed in 1908 that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian units became an 'organic part' of the Austro-Hungarian army and bore the designation 'k.u.k.'.

The Uniforms of the BH Infantry

From the outset attempts were made to give the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops a uniform similar to the Austro-Hungarian one, but with a distinct character. This applied particularly to two components of the uniform. The trousers, which were baggy to below the knee, were remotely reminiscent of traditional Oriental men's costumes.[17] But it was above all the fez that became the unique attribute of Bosnian-Herzegovinian soldiers. Yet this item of uniform was not entirely new in the Austrian army, as the Dalmatian Landwehr riflemen had worn similar headgear between 1873 and 1888.[18] Although it may be considered typically Muslim today, in the second half of the 19th century Christian peasants also wore the fez.[19] And in the 19th century Austria was even the world's largest manufacturer of fezzes.

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The Uniform of 1882

The 'Provisional Statute on the Organization of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops' of 1882 provided for detailed regulations on the clothing, weaponry and equipment of these units.[20] The uniforms were light-blue – of '*light-blue cloth of a light hue*', as it was stated officially – and thus differed from the dark-blue uniform of the k. u. k. infantry. The characteristic feature was the fez.

The Fez

Headgear consisted of a dark-red fez with a tassel of dark-blue fringes hanging down the back. The first troops were issued a local 'interim pattern'. On the request of the k.k. Uniform Depot No. 4 in Vienna a military fez was standardized in June 1882.[21] It differed from the usual civilian pattern by having two loops on the left for attaching the field insignia, i.e. an oak leaf or a fir twig. In addition, two 2-cm-wide and 2-cm-spaced loops of six-fold twisted red thread were attached vertically 2 cm above the edge of the head.
In 1892 the conspicuous dark-red fez was given a more subdued colour: reddish-brown.[22] The dark-blue tassel was changed to black. Until the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the fez remained in these colours as the regulation full dress headgear for the Bosniaks. In 1910 a pike-grey pattern supplemented field dress.[23]

Tunic and Field Blouse for Other Ranks

The tunic of light-blue cloth was of the same cut as for the German infantry of the k.k. army, i.e. with a stand-up collar and fastened by six yellow buttons at the front. The buttons had the company (later battalion and, after 1894, regimental) number stamped on them. Tunics for

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Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantrymen in pike-grey and light-blue uniforms, both with a reddish-brown fez. On this photograph, taken in 1915/16, the infantryman on the right is wearing the light-blue tunic with alizarin-red piping. The infantryman on the left is wearing the pike-grey blouse with stand-up collar, to which a narrow strip of distinguishing cloth is attached.

other ranks had shoulder-straps buttoned on both sides of the collar and shoulder pads above the seam at the top of the sleeve.

Apart from the tunic (for full dress), there was the blouse for normal and field duty. It was made of light-blue wool and had a hidden button tape, a low stand-up collar and two cut-in breast and skirt pockets, closed by scalloped flaps. Moreover, there was a 'sleeved undershirt' worn under the blouse and also made of light-blue wool. Unlike the blouse, the 'sleeved undershirt' did not have any external pockets.

On the tunic the stand-up collar, cuffs, shoulder pads and shoulder-straps were in distinguishing colours. In the Austro-Hungarian army distinguishing colours served primarily to differentiate regiments. The Viennese infantry regiment '*Hoch- und Deutschmeister*', to give an example, had sky-blue cuffs and the '*Rainer Regiment*' from Salzburg orange-red ones. Alizarin-red was stipulated for Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops. This colour often causes confusion. It is the technical term for a new dye at the time, which was intended to replace the expensive natural madder and at the same time be more light-resistant. Hence, alizarin-red is identical to madder-red, i.e. a darker, duller red. In 1881, the new dyeing technique was tested on the riding breeches of the k.k. cavalry and proved to be excellent.[24]

Rank insignia and designations were the same as those in the infantry of the common army. They followed the 1849 system of six-pointed stars, which were cut out of white cloth for junior NCOs and later pressed from white celluloid.[25] *Gefreite*, *Korporale* and *Zugsführer* had one, two or three stars respectively and *Feldwebel* an extra, narrow strip of yellow braid.

Archives HGM

Bandleader of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 with pike-grey blouse and trousers in the cut of breeches, leather gaiters and black, laced shoes. On both sides of the collar there was an embroidered lyre with sword, which was in keeping with the button colour (in this case gold) and was the common collar insignia of all bandleaders of the k.u.k. army.

Archives JR

***Oberleutnant* of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in (non-regulation) white summer uniform. Whereas light summer trousers were authorized on different occasions during the warm season, this was not true of the field blouse. Nevertheless, officers on the Balkans and in the coastal regions used white blouses of cotton or linen. Obligatory after 1892: the reddish-brown fez.**

The Overcoat

The overcoat, which was provided with numbered yellow buttons, was also in keeping with the pattern for the common army. The overcoat for other ranks was fastened at the front by two rows of five yellow numbered buttons and was dark-blue in colour. It extended to about half the calf below the knee.

The Trousers

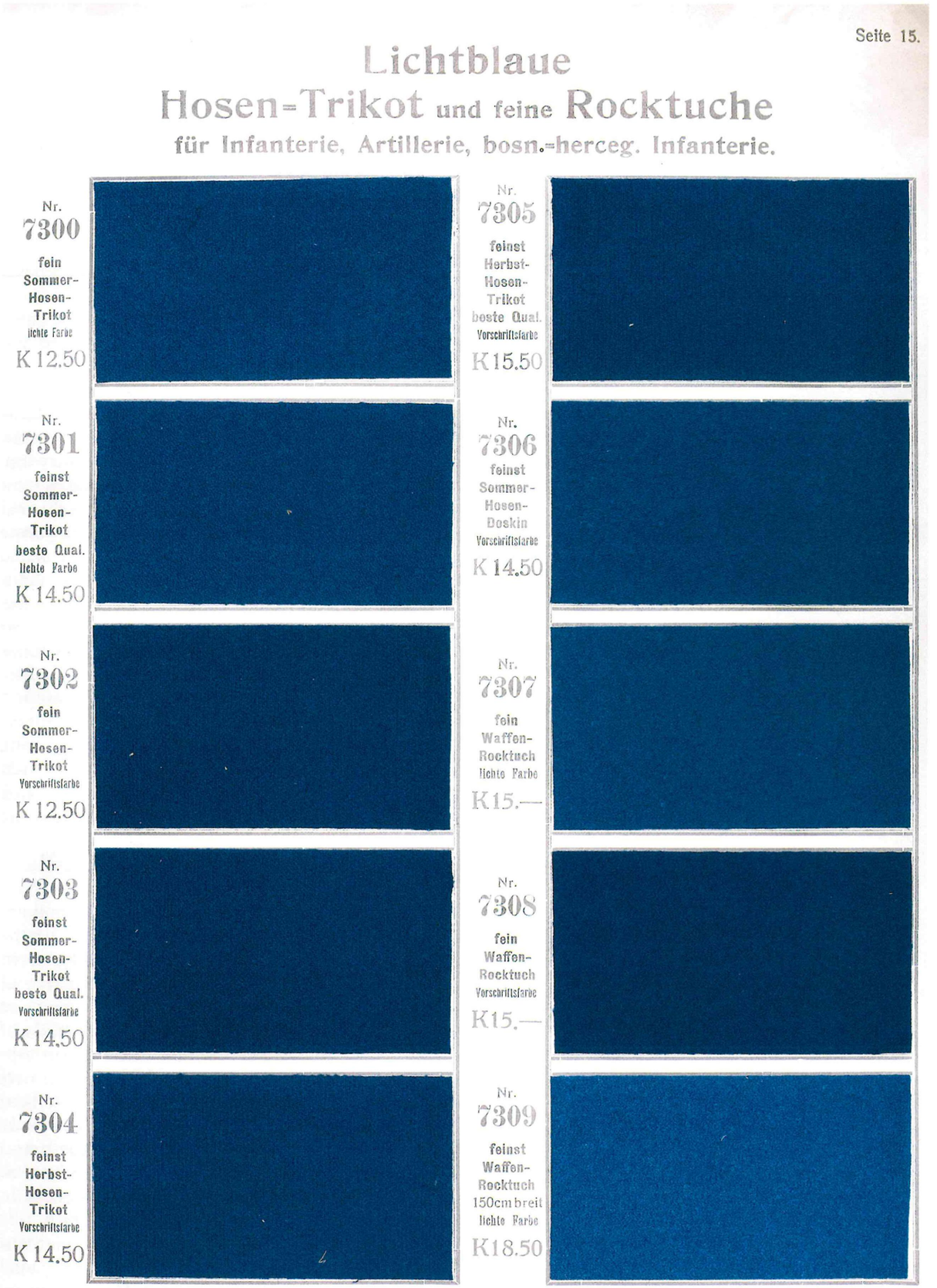
As has already been mentioned, breeches of light-blue cloth of a light hue were stipulated for other ranks. They were trousers of a special cut: baggy to below the knee, they were tight around the lower legs.[26] Hence, the breeches of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops differed from those introduced, e.g. for the artillery of the common army.[27] Due to their baggy cut the breeches afforded ease of movement and were so good in the First World War that, when thinking about post-war uniform in 1918, Army Supreme Command even planned '*breeches of the Bosnian cut*' as the standard pattern for the (earth-brown) universal uniform for the other ranks of the entire Austro-Hungarian army.[28]

In 1903 all other ranks were authorized to wear light summer trousers on exercises (with the exception of marching dress with field equipment) and when walking out on weekdays (except with full dress) during the warm season.[29]

Shoes, Boots and Other Equipment

As regards boots, the organizational statute of 1882 referred to an undefined 'prototype'; it cannot be excluded that in the first years local *opanci* (Serbian folk shoes) were worn beside the regulation laced boots of the infantry.

The provisions of the uniform and equipment regulations for the common army applied for the other items, weapons and equipment.[30] Marksmanship awards were red, like in the infantry of the common army. Leather equipment such as belts, ammunition pouches, support straps for the calfskin field pack, overcoat strap, bayonet frog etc. was black. In 1888, a new pattern of haversack was introduced made of brown flax canvas. The same year the two-pronged buckle of the belt for dismounted soldiers was replaced by



Seite 15.

Lichtblaue
Hosen-Trikot und feine Rocktuche
für Infanterie, Artillerie, bosn.-herceg. Infanterie.

Nr. 7300 fein Sommer-Hosen-Trikot lichte Farbe K 12.50

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Nr. 7304 feinst Herbst-Hosen-Trikot Vorschriftsfarbe K 14.50

Nr. 7305 feinst Herbst-Hosen-Trikot beste Qual. Vorschriftsfarbe K 15.50

Nr. 7306 feinst Sommer-Hosen-Doskin Vorschriftsfarbe K 14.50

Nr. 7307 fein Waffen-Rocktuch lichte Farbe K 15.—

Nr. 7308 fein Waffen-Rocktuch Vorschriftsfarbe K 15.—

Nr. 7309 feinst Waffen-Rocktuch 150cm breit lichte Farbe K 18.50

Officers and one-year volunteers purchased their items of uniform privately, usually tailor-made by uniform manufacturers. Depending on the financial status of the buyer, cheaper or more expensive fabrics were used. There were also differences in the shades of colour, as clearly shown by this pattern book from the Hungarian Army Museum. (UAM)

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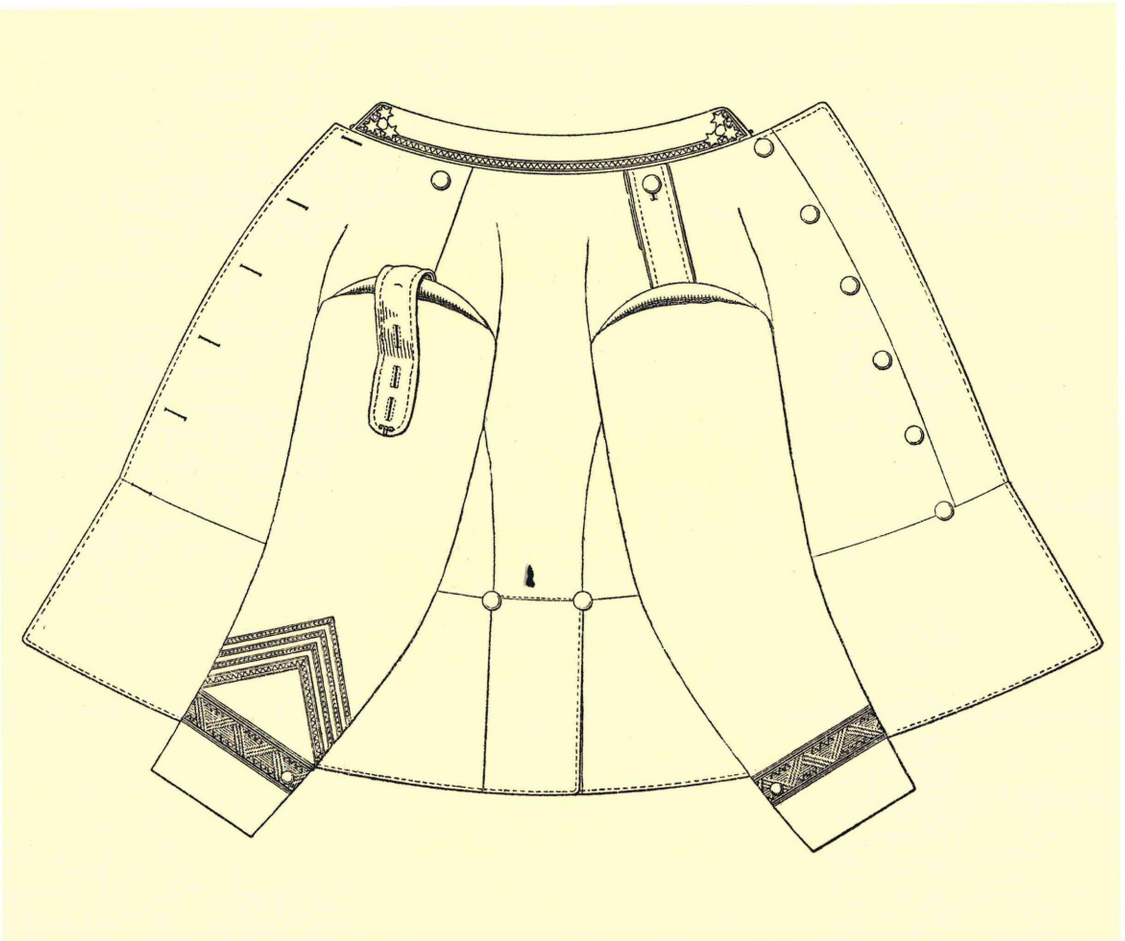
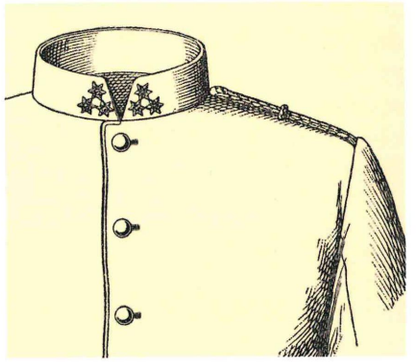




Tunic for an infantry *Feldwebel* (left). The braid on the sleeves and the chevrons on the left forearm show that it was worn by an armourer 1st class after nine years who voluntarily extended his military service. For the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry the tunic was light blue instead of dark blue and had a madder red collar and cuffs. The buttons were yellow (= golden). While the troops of the infantry had shoulder straps and a shoulder pads, the mounted troops (for example in the *transport corps*) just had a loop of doubled cord. Illustrations from the uniform regulations for the k.u.k. army, 1910.

a brass box-type buckle showing the Austro-Hungarian double eagle. The infantry and *Jäger* were also issued a new model of the calfskin field pack with a suspension frame, which was slightly modified in 1895.[31]

In 1894 the four regiments were provided with new shelter equipment.[32] The troops were also issued new dark-brown woollen gloves. They were made of brown wool like those for the k.u.k. cavalry and had a denim reinforcement on the palm.[33] In 1895, *Gefreite*, NCOs and Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter* were issued signalling whistles.[34]

Transport Corps and the Recruiting District Headquarters

Other ranks assigned to the transport corps had to wear the fez like the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry and were otherwise uniformed like the other ranks of the Austro-Hungarian transport corps. Thus, Bosnian transport troops wore dark-brown tunics or blouses with light-blue distinguishing colour and madder-red breeches with black leather boots.

In 1894 the entire personnel of the recruiting district headquarters in Bosnia and Herzegovina were assigned to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments responsible for recruitment, although they had been 'oversize' in their previous units. The auxiliary administrative NCOs of the common army attached to the political district authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina doing duty in the recruiting district headquarters – at the expense of the civilian administration – now formed a special group on the respective regimental staff. As of 1 June 1894 all these persons had to wear the uniform of 'their' respective Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments.[35]

Officers and Officer Candidates

The officers and other ranks (NCOs) of the common army attached to Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry companies retained the uniforms of their parent units until 1886.[36]

Then, as a matter of principle, they wore the same uniform as other ranks. The tunic and blouse, overcoat and trousers were made of light-blue cloth of a light hue. The cut and shape of outerwear were in keeping with those of the infantry of the common army, as were the overcoat and the light trousers, the latter made of light-blue cloth of a light hue without piping. Officers' tunics and blouses had neither shoulder pads nor shoulder-straps, but the piping (i.e. the edges of the front button tape and the rear pocket flaps) on the collar and the cuffs were in distinguishing colour, i.e. alizarin-red. The numbered buttons were gold-plated.

The six-pointed rank stars were embroidered in gold for junior officers (i.e. *Leutnant*, *Oberleutnant* and *Hauptmann*). Along the front and rear edges of the collar field-grade officers had broad field

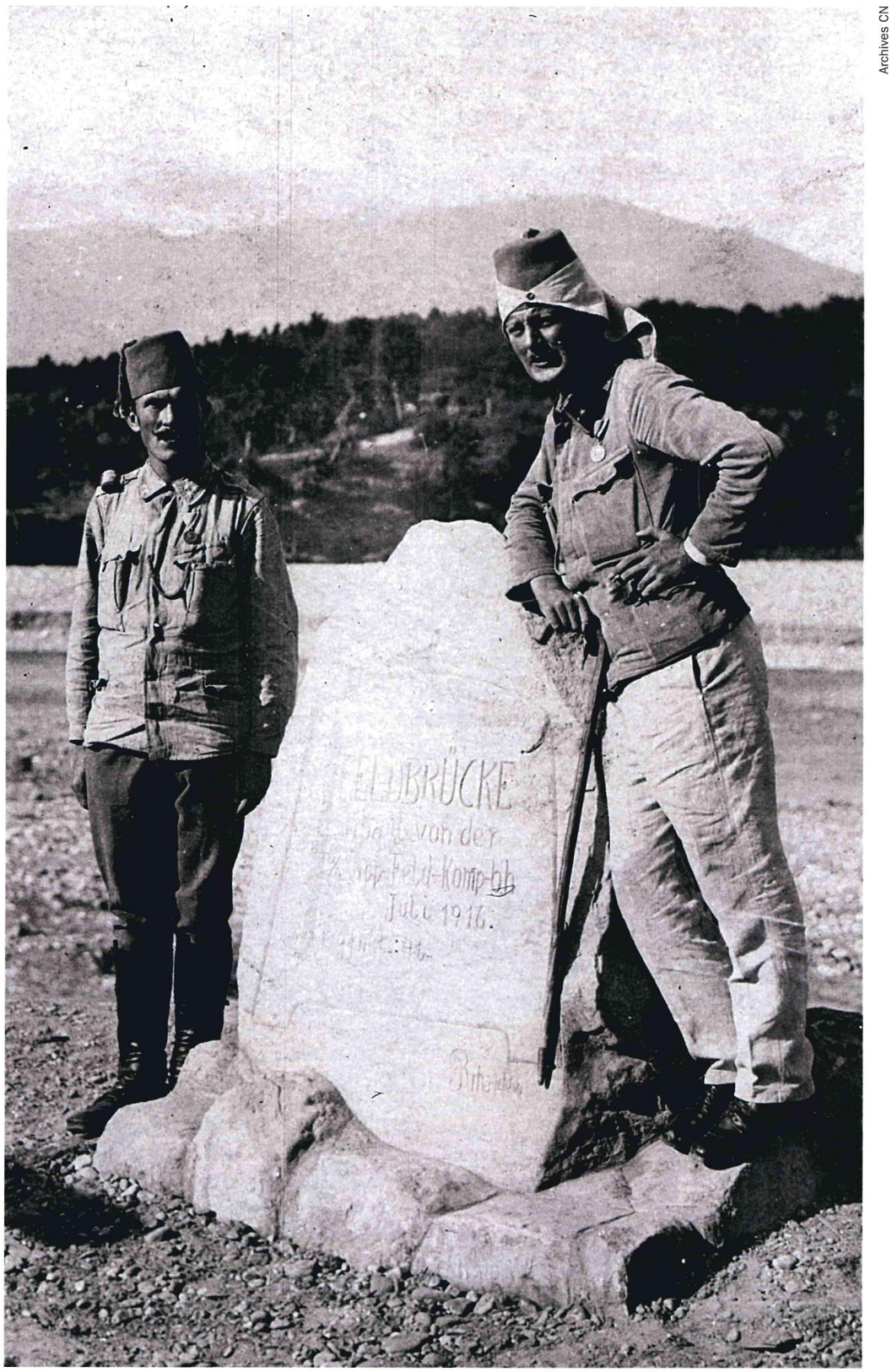
officers' gold braid. For better recognition the stars were then embroidered not in gold, but in silver. Gold braid also ran around the cuffs of the tunic.

The service insignia of officers was (until the end of August 1914) the yellow field sash with intertwined black threads. The status insignia was the gold sword knot on the sabre.

For junior officers, the fez was also initially stipulated as headgear, but it had a tassel of silk fringes. 'Off duty' officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry were authorized to wear the cap prescribed for officers of the common army (with corresponding numbered buttons). Full dress headgear was the infantry shako for officers and cadets/*Fähnriche* and only officers of the Islamic faith were authorized to wear the fez also on parade.[37] On 8 April 1904 the headquarters of XV Corps ordered that officers and Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter* in Bosnia-Herzegovina also had to wear the black field cap instead of the shako on parade, and this also applied to the units of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops stationed in the occupied region (i.e. the respective III Battalions and the recruiting bodies).[38] All these regulations similarly applied to the officers and cadets of the recruiting district headquarters, unless they were Muslims, in which case the fez was authorized.

The officers' overcoat was grey-blue (practically black) with alizarin-red piping, but did not have two rows of five buttons (as for other ranks), but two rows of six yellow numbered buttons each and a black velvet collar with red, lancet-shaped tabs.

Officers had to purchase their uniforms privately. Those conscripts accepted for the course for reserve officers ('one-year volunteers') and Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter* were authorized to purchase uniforms of finer material and private gloves and to wear them on and off duty. But these items had to be manufactured according to regulations. Private purchases led, of course, to deviations from the regulations according to personal tastes or the prevailing fashion. Despite repeated decrees and bans, countless variations can be found in the shape of caps, the design of the officers' sabre or the cuts of tunics and field blouses,



Archives CN

The officers of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units were also authorized to wear the fez. During the First World War frequent use was made of it, as is shown by this photograph of a *Leutnant* (right) who has wrapped additional sun protection around his fez, presumably due to the great heat.

depending on the financial status of the purchaser. However, the use of lighter materials was permissible, as long as they were regulation in terms of shape and colour, i.e. worsted yarn for tunics and light trousers instead of heavy cloth.[39]
In 1903, cadets and NCOs voluntarily prolonging military service were allowed on request to wear light-blue trousers off duty.[40] Officer candidates were permitted to wear shoes instead of half-boots. Officers were allowed to wear blue-grey trousers (i.e. black, straight-cut 'drawing room trousers') with scarlet piping not only off duty, but also for inspection.[41]

Shortcomings in Supply

Like today, orders for uniforms and items of equipment were placed after invitations to contract and in Austria-Hungary the fundamental endeavour was made to support small and medium-sized enterprises (during the First World War this was a factor that initially hampered the suddenly necessary supply of mass armies). In 1903, for instance, the War Ministry ordered 13,760 buckles with hooks for the M 1888 infantry belt from the firm of Manfred Weiss in Budapest. Numbered buttons were ordered from the firm of Salcher & Söhne in Vienna, which delivered 210,000 black zinc buttons (for trousers and field blouses) in 1903. The same year K. Schittenhelm's Sohn's factory for leather and military equipment in Vienna manufactured 2,000 ammunition field packs and 4,000 ammunition pouches for the Austro-Hungarian army.[42]
Evidently, material maintenance was not always optimal. In 1903, IV Corps headquarters conducted an inspection of the supply depots of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiments Nos. 1 and 3.[43] The report to the War Ministry criticized the shortage of personnel, but also the infestation of the footwear by auger beetles.[44] At any rate the headquarters of the Third Bosniaks intended to use the '*good weather likely to persist for some time*' thoroughly to air and clean uniforms and equipment.
At the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 in Mostar an inventory of 10 December 1902 yielded the supplies in the regimental depot for exercises as 2,891 fezzes with tassels (2,429 of them classified as '*completely unserviceable*'), 1,574 field blouses (974 unserviceable), 190 sleeved undershirts (all unserviceable), 92 overcoats, 515 shirts and 1,660 pairs of summer trousers (1,300 of them unserviceable).[45] Major problems lay ahead for the forthcoming exercises, not to mention any true operation. The problems were caused not only by the structural shortcomings of depots, sloppiness and mismanagement. In December 1902, the regimental headquarters listed the reasons for the rapid deterioration of uniforms in a report to the headquarters of II Corps: '*Due to guard duty, parades, funerals etc. the garrison in Vienna inevitably makes much higher demands on uniform maintenance than a provincial garrison. But the main harm is caused by the circumstance that the recruits coming on regular service have already received military clothing in Mostar and those going on leave have to be sent home in military uniform and the many days' march [from the stations to their homes] completely wears out the uniforms they are wearing*'.[46] This incident shows a remarkable facet in the lives of the Bosniaks, who were viewed as a quaint military enrichment of the capital. Beauty has its price and for this reason corps headquarters agreed to the regiment's request for an exceptional replenishment of supplies. At any rate, at the end of 1902 the regiment was missing 600 units of the necessary 1,400 units of 'fez with tassel', 300 pairs of boots of the necessary 1,400 pairs and even 1,000 pairs of the necessary 1,400 pairs of summer trousers.[47] For this reason, on 12 April 1903 the War Ministry authorized the regiment to purchase '*items of uniform and replacements beyond normal requirements – 1,000 pairs of summer trousers, 500 sets of underclothing and 1,000 mess kits with lids – in view of the exercises projected for May this year*'.[48]
Certain problems persisted. Although the headquarters of II Corps attested the regiment in 1903, '*during the young life of the regiment the most rational management has led to the supplies, excluding the supplies for exercises, being qualitatively and quantitatively adequate*', but, '*the poverty of the population [remains], which causes the men not on regular service to have to be sent on leave completely dressed in military uniform, so that many items get lost or return to the regiment in desolate condition*'.[49] Hence, the headquarters of the replacement battalion in Mostar had too little serviceable clothing to be able to fit out reservists for the forthcoming exercises in 1903. The common Finance Ministry responsible for Bosnian-Herzegovinian affairs finally approved an 'exceptional subsidy' of 10,000 crowns, which, for lack of budgetary precautions, was paid out in three instalments between 1903 and 1905.[50]
The problem of inadequate civilian clothing for Bosnian-Herzegovinian soldiers being sent on leave, transferred to the reserve or discharged altogether was addressed in a lengthy decree in 1906. Those concerned were to be pointed out the need to purchase suitable civilian clothing in time. Men who had '*serviceable civilian clothing*' were to be released by the unit on payment of a daily allowance, i.e. to be discharged home from the respective garrison. The others were to be taken in military clothing to the replacement cadre depots. There their military clothing was to be removed and the available civilian clothing (stored since the call up) issued. In exceptional cases, in particular in the event of '*dire poverty*', single items of military clothing could be given away. After all, it was certainly not conducive to the reputation of the Austro-Hungarian army if discharged soldiers went home dressed in rags.[51] In Herzegovina, in particular, large sections of the population were regarded as impoverished.[52]
The issue of material for dressings to the soldiers was still unsatisfactory at the turn of the century. The Austrian and the Hungarian Red Cross issued first-aid kits to the troops of the Austro-Hungarian army. In 1907 it was laid down that the first-aid kits for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops had to be purchased from the Bosnian-Herzegovinian provincial budget.[53]

1908: Pike-Grey, The New Colour

The greatest change to uniforms prior to the First World War took place in 1908, when the pike-grey uniform was introduced for all infantry, *Jäger* and medical units in the Austro-Hungarian army. The field blouse, trousers and overcoat were given this light, somewhat bluish-grey shade. Instead of cut-in breast pockets, field blouses now had sewn-on ones, which were more comfortable and spacious than those introduced in 1882. The officers' pike-grey overcoat was given a grey velvet collar instead of the black one, as was the cyclists' cape.[54] All leather items and leather components of other ranks' equipment were made of natural brown leather, including the new leather gaiters and the belt with support strap for officers.[55]

Officers and officer equivalents including Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter* (or *Fähnriche*) were issued grey leather gloves instead of brown ones. For other ranks, brown woollen gloves were replaced by grey ones. White leather gloves were only to be worn by cadets (or equivalents), NCOs and one-year volunteers on parade and off duty, otherwise grey woollen gloves like those for other ranks were to be used.

A neck cloth of pike-grey cotton worn like a scarf was introduced in 1908. Officers were given a pike-grey cap in the shape of the other ranks' cap in use since 1871 (with a rosette embroidered in gold instead of the gold metal one for other ranks and with a peak bordered by thin leather on the outside). However, Muslim officers and all other ranks of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops continued to wear the reddish-brown fez.

The light-blue breeches or trousers could now only be worn on parade and with the tunic, otherwise pike-grey items had to be worn. Apparently, changes were planned in full dress uniform for the entire army. In 1907, a ministerial decree had stated that '*a change in full dress may occur in*

Archives CN

Infantrymen of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiment after a postcard motif by Ludwig Koch.

Archives HH

Members of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry, all of them fitted with both pike-grey and light-blue items of uniform. The use of stored old items of uniform on training duty was not unusual due to the shortage of material. Some Bosniaks are wearing the pike-grey fez, but most of them the reddish-brown one.

the foreseeable future' and for this reason '*in 1908 and subsequently only the quantity of dark-blue (light-blue) tunics is to be issued or stored absolutely necessary to maintain uniforms for parade*'.[56] The development was forestalled by the First World War.

The Uniform Regulations of 1910

The new uniform regulations of 1910/11 presented a compilation of the many changes and innovations of the years around the turn of the century, which had sometimes occurred in quick succession. In principle, the general regulations for the rest of the Austro-Hungarian army also applied to Bosnian-Herzegovinian units, especially since the constitutional conditions had altered after the annexation of 1908.

Since its introduction in 1882, the light-blue tunic had not basically changed and a slightly higher stand-up collar represented a concession to the fashion of the time. The light-blue breeches stipulated to go with it in the special cut of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were now only intended for *Feldwebel*, accounting and medical NCOs, members of the regimental band, battalion and company drum majors and armourers. The remaining other ranks had the pike-grey breeches of field dress.

On the march *Fähnriche* wore pike-grey light trousers with pike-grey gaiters. For (mounted) regimental and battalion buglers and also mounted drum majors artillery breeches (light-blue in full dress, otherwise pike-grey) were stipulated instead of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian breeches, and leather gaiters were worn with them and buckle-on spurs on mounted duty.

The reddish-brown fez was now only intended for full and walking out dress, otherwise only the pike-grey fez, introduced in 1910, was to be worn on the march.[57]

Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Jäger* Units

In 1903, the 17th Field Companies of the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments were amalgamated into a *Feldjäger* Battalion that, like the *Feldjäger* battalions of the common army, was regarded as an independent infantry battalion.[58] It had a battalion staff, four field companies and a replacement company cadre (in Sarajevo). The four companies had to take all their clothing and equipment with them, with the exception of weapons, when the battalion was formed.[59] The light-blue uniforms had alizarin-red piping, which had to be changed to grass-green, as the new battalion was a *Jäger* unit. The trousers were given green instead of red piping. The numbered buttons were to be exchanged for the smooth yellow ones intended for Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Jäger*. In October 1903, the *Feldjäger* Battalion requested to be allocated six tailors so as to be able

Archives VM

Members of the 1st Field Company of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2 during the First World War. Three of them are wearing the hunting horn on the fez, contrary to regulations. The *Leutnant* on the right has even attached an officers' cap rosette above it.

to adapt items of uniform.[60] As corps headquarters did not have the necessary number of professional tailors, the common Finance Ministry allowed civilian tailors to be employed for '*making piping and buttoning*' for a fee.[61] The costs for the uniform specific to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Jäger* units were laid down in September 1903.[62]

In cut, the tunics and blouses of the new *Jäger* unit resembled those of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry, but smooth yellow buttons were intended instead of the numbered buttons of the infantry.[63] Although light-blue uniforms were still initially worn, since the existing sets had been taken over, pike-grey uniforms were issued at the end of 1903, as in the *Jäger* units of the common army. The adapted light-blue uniforms were worn for training and barracks duty.[64]

The distinguishing colour – and this was the most striking difference to the uniforms of the infantry regiments – was

Hat of an Officer of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* or the k.u.k. Border Troops – The hunting horn of gilt tombac is attached above the cloth socket for fastening the black cockerel plume, in the opening the double eagle is made of silver-plated nickel silver. Such an insignia was also regulation for the k.k. Mounted Dalmatian *Landesschützen* and members of k.k. uniform and arms depots. (HGM)

grass-green, as was the general custom in Austro-Hungarian *Jäger* units, and marksmanship awards were also grass-green. The adoption of the traditional branch colour of *Jäger* units was not entirely unproblematic, as in Islam green is considered the colour of the Prophet's standard and the dress of Ali, the fourth Islamic caliph. Since then the descendants of the Prophet have viewed green as the symbol of their governance. In the Islamic world green symbolizes regeneration, hope and peace, it is also the colour of joy, success and felicity and plays an important role in Islamic heraldry. However, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* were serving a Christian ruler. The moderate Austro-Hungarian occupation policy and the particularly sensitive treatment of religious peculiarities, especially in the army, had meanwhile led to the Muslim Bosniaks relinquishing their initially reserved to hostile stance towards the new ruler and taking on a positive stance. At any rate there were no problems with the new distinguishing colour.

Whereas other ranks wore the reddish-brown fez, officers and *Fähnriche* were clothed like those of the common army *Jäger* units, i.e. they wore the hat with plume in full dress. The only difference was that the horn insignia (made of tombac, a copper-rich brass alloy with a proportion of over 70 % copper, gold-plated for officers), instead of the battalion number, displayed the Austro-Hungarian double eagle made of silver-plated pakfong (a copper-nickel-iron alloy like nickel silver, which shines like silver, but does not tarnish like real silver).[65] Otherwise, the black officers' cap was worn. Officers and NCOs of the Islamic faith were authorized to wear the fez.

The introduction of the pike-grey uniform in 1908 hardly entailed changes for the *Jäger*, except for the concomitant introduction of the pike-grey fez for field dress. The reddish-brown fez had not been stipulated for medics, pack animal handlers, butchers, engineers, transport troops and bicycle orderlies, and as of 1910 they always wore the pike-grey one.[66] Dark-blue overcoats were replaced by pike-grey ones.[67] The pike-grey field cap for officers, introduced to the field uniform in 1908, had, like the officers' black cap, a little horn insignia of silver-plated metal with the double eagle in the centre attached under the rosette.

Officers and *Fähnriche* wore trousers and other ranks breeches with grass-green piping. In the warm part of the year summer trousers could be worn (except by medics, pack animal handlers, butchers, engineers, transport troops and bicycle orderlies). NCOs voluntarily prolonging military service were authorized on request to wear pike-grey trousers with grass-green piping off duty instead of breeches.[68] Off duty, in the barracks, on office and inspection duty and on other dismounted duties, exercises and assignments, for which full or marching dress was not stipulated, officers could put on blue-grey trousers with grass-green piping. When they were on mounted duty, *Jäger* officers wore blue-grey breeches (or leather breeches dyed grey) without piping.

Military Officials for Bosnia and Herzegovina

Even before the First World War there were military officials for every recruiting district. In 1908, a decree of the War Ministry ordered that suitable NCOs could be taken over as assistant military officials by the headquarters of XV Corps with the consent of the provincial government. The principle applied that if applicants had the same qualifications, those from Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be given preference.[69] Initially, there were only a few assistant military officials,[70] only 26 in 1912.[71] Their uniform consisted of the hat for military officials (bicorne) or the black cap, light-blue tunic with alizarin-red piping and yellow buttons with the number of the regiment responsible for the respective recruiting district.[72]

The tunic of light-blue cloth had two rows of eight equidistant buttons at the front. When the tunic was fastened, the two top buttons were 10.5 cm and the two bottom ones 9 cm apart. From the waist buttons down a pocket was cut vertically into each of the two rear skirts and covered by a double scalloped flap with two buttons. Along the front, the skirts and the pocket flaps the edges of the tunic had alizarin-red piping.

The trousers were blue-grey with alizarin-red piping.[73] It was authorized to wear the pike-grey field blouse and summer trousers for service dress.

Rosettes embroidered in gold were intended as rank insignia for military officials instead of the usual stars.[74] A neck cloth, white and grey gloves and half-boots or laced shoes (without adornment) completed the uniform.[75]

The rank lists of 1917 record military officials and assistant military officials (corresponding to military officials of the IX and X rank classes, i.e. *Hauptmann* and *Oberleutnant*). The hat brim was bordered by a black rinsed silk ribbon 5.3 cm wide; the hat loop was a 2.6-cm-wide braid loop of 'officials' design'. The hat loop was attached to the left by a tunic button near the opening for the head. In the black centre the rosette showed the Austro-Hungarian double eagle. The cap rosette was the same, except smaller.

The uniform regulations of 1911 standardized a special pattern of sword for Bosnian-Herzegovinian military officials, such as it was used by the officials of His Majesty's Military Cabinet, a series of military officials of different service branches, military instructors and military fencing instructors. The blade, which was hollowed out on both sides, was 74 to 79 cm long. The knuckle guard of gold-plated metal consisted of the guard, the hilt and the pommel. The side of the guard facing

Bicorne of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian Military Official – On the buttons of their uniform Bosnian-Herzegovinian military officials wore the number of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiment to whose recruiting district they belonged. The number 3 indicates recruiting district Tuzla, the recruiting depot of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3. (private collection)

the body could be folded by a hinge and the hilt was woven over with gold-plated brass wire. The scabbard made of sheet steel was covered with black leather and had a mouthpiece with a retainer clip at the top. 18.4 cm away from this there was a rigid suspension ring and at the tip an abrasion cap, both of gold-plated metal.[76] The sword knot for officials was carried on the sword.

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Stud Farms

Until the 20th century horses played an exceptionally important role in the army. A large quantity of suitable horses was necessary, not only for the cavalry, but also for solving the most varied transport assignments. Civilian agriculture could not create an adequate material basis in all parts of the country equally, so that state-run stud farms were set up in the Danube Monarchy to increase horse breeding. They were organized along military lines and were under the financial and technical control of the respective Austrian or Hungarian ministry of agriculture (or the Croatian-Slavonian Provincial Government) and the organizational and military control of the common War Ministry or later the respective ministries of national defence of the two halves of the empire.

The 'stud farm corps' intended for duty in horse-breeding institutions consisted of officers and other ranks, and their ranks generally corresponded to those in the cavalry. The lowest rank was the 'stud private'. Although the uniform of the Austrian stud corps resembled that of the transport corps,[77] that of the Hungarian stud corps evinced national Hungarian or 'hussar' features.

After the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina a state stud industry was also established in the country, which was subordinate to the provincial government in Sarajevo in financial and technical terms and to the War Ministry in military ones. Military detachments for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian horse-breeding institutions are first mentioned in the military schematism of 1912.[78] The first commandant was *Rittmeister* Friedrich Gaudernak of the Hungarian stud corps. In 1912, two *Oberleutnants*, one accountant and a military veterinary surgeon are also mentioned. On the outbreak of the First World War there was a state stud farm in Goražde and a state stallion depot and an experimental institution in Livno. Special focus was placed on pack animals and for this reason the state horse-breeding institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina dealt with breeding mules as well as horses. In 1914, the inventories for the stud farm in Goražde list 80 horses and 12 donkeys.[79]

The uniform of the military detachment for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian horse-breeding institutions was largely in keeping with that of the Austrian stud corps. The tunic, pelisse, overcoat and blouse were dark-brown and the riding breeches madder-red. Officers and *Fähnriche*

were permitted to wear blue-grey trousers (officers with madder-red piping) and all members of the stud corps could wear summer trousers. The distinguishing colour of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian stud corps was madder-red and the uniform buttons smooth and yellow.[80] As headgear, officers and *Fähnriche* used the shako with horsehair plume or the black cap, whilst other ranks (including officers' batmen) wore the reddish-brown fez.

With black leather boots, officers and *Fähnriche* wore dragoons' spurs and the others buckle-on spurs. Officers and *Fähnriche* were authorized to use half-boots with blue-grey and summer trousers and officers also black laced shoes without adornment. The blue-grey officers' riding breeches did not have piping. For skilled craftsmen (saddlers and lorimers) there was a simple denim jacket. The edged weapon for officers and *Fähnriche* was the M 1904 cavalry officers' sabre and for NCOs and other ranks the other ranks' sabre of the same pattern. Officers' sword knots or other ranks' leather sabre tassels were to be carried. Other ranks were also to be trained in the use of the repeating carbine.[81]

Changes in Uniform during the First World War

The field uniform of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in 1914 was pike-grey. However, the colour was not a success. In the wooded regions of the Carpathians in particular the pike-grey uniforms contrasted too clearly with the dark background of the forest. Hence, in September 1915 it was ordered that field-grey '*with a greenish undertone*' was to replace pike-grey as the uniform colour.[82] All items of outerwear were now manufactured in field-grey, but the existing items were used up. As of 1915, the fez was also made of field-grey felt and provided with a grey woollen tassel.

As the war drew on, the supply situation became tighter and tighter. The shortage of material was aggravated by the shortfall of labour. For this reason the authorities sought to use uniform items that economized on material and labour. To simplify manufacture and supply, in 1916 a universal blouse (the same in cut as the existing one, but with a folding-down

Archives HGM

Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantrymen in field-grey uniform. The field-grey blouse introduced in 1915 still has the short stand-up collar of the pre-war model, which, however, was replaced by a folding-down collar in 1916.

instead of a stand-up collar), universal trousers (breeches) and a universal overcoat (following the existing pattern for the horse artillery) were introduced in December 1916, initially only provisionally, for all branches of the service.[83] The existing colourful collar tabs – red for the Bosniaks (or green for the *Jäger*) – were replaced by narrow strips of cloth behind the rank stars.

The 'universal uniform' necessitated new distinguishing insignia, enabling the soldier's allocation to his unit. In 1916 'interim insignia' were created.[84] They were printed on oil cloth and were to be sewn to the left of the field cap (or, although not explicitly mentioned in the decree, the fez) and on the left shoulder-strap of the field blouse and overcoat. The affiliation to a unit of the Austro-Hungarian army was indicated by a combination of blue letters and numerals (as well as by additional symbols in the artillery).The Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were given the identifier 'bh' and the corresponding regimental number in post position in the case of the infantry regiments. 'bh4' stood for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 and 'bhJ' for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Jäger* units.[85] These insignia were neither popular, nor particularly durable. As evinced by photographs, they were only seldom worn.

The introduction of the provisional universal uniform of 1916 marked an overall standardization of uniforms and items of equipment. In this respect the Bosniaks were no exception. But their most characteristic uniform feature, the fez, was retained.

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Bearer Companies

For bearer duty in the high mountains and handling work at railheads in the areas of the army in the field different kinds of bearer companies were formed during the war, also in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Apart from conscripts unfit for duty at the front or born before 1872, allegedly unreliable (especially Serbian Orthodox) soldiers were employed for these tasks.

In 1917 there were 29 such bearer companies subordinated to infantry divisions. Their respective replacement units were

Archives HGM

Two *Feldwebel* of k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 in field-grey uniform, 1915. The belt with a single-pronged buckle replaced the one with a brass box-type buckle.

one of the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments and Regiment No. 1 formed eight and the others seven bearer companies. Their dress consisted of the field-grey universal uniform introduced in 1916, supplemented by the fez as headgear. Only the officer acting as company commander wore the officers' peaked field cap, as long as he was not a Muslim. The belt was made of natural brown leather and partly of ersatz material.

For the Bosnian-Herzegovinian bearer companies 'provisional insignia' was stipulated for the field-grey universal uniform, which consisted of the company number printed in Roman numerals on oil cloth and, separated by a slash, the designation of the replacement unit. 'I/bh1' referred to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Bearer Company No. 1 and the replacement unit responsible was the Infantry Regiment No. 1. For better identification, the same decree that standardized the 'provisional unit insignia' also introduced a 'special badge' of tombac. It had the shape of an oval shield, in the central field of which a bearer climbing uphill could be seen with the fez as headgear. According to the detailed regulations of 1917, this insignia was worn on the collar of the blouse and on the left of the cap or fez.[86]

The junior officer acting as company commander of a bearer company usually carried a repeating pistol and the infantry officers' sabre or the bayonet after 1917.[87] The *Feldwebel* on duty was armed with the repeating pistol and the infantry officers' sabre, the NCO accountant only with the infantry officers' sabre and the other NCOs and junior NCOs with repeating rifles. Other ranks without rank were unarmed.[88]

Archives ZIK

Field bivouac of Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops in field-grey uniform. The other ranks are already equipped with the pike-grey fez introduced in 1910. The shelter equipment was introduced in 1893 and consisted of a rhombically cut shelter section and three tent pegs per man.

Special badge for Bosnian-Herzegovinian bearer companies. This insignia was worn on the collar of the blouse as well as on the left of the cap or fez. (CN)

The Uniforms and Equipment of the (k.u.k.) Gendarmerie Corps for Bosnia-Herzegovina

Balanced economic development and prosperity are only possible under politically and legally consolidated conditions. The security of persons and property is a crucial prerequisite. Under Ottoman administration there was a *Zaptia* Regiment in Bosnia-Herzegovina to maintain security and assist the authorities. However, this police force suffered from the reputation of corruption and nepotism.[89] In the country itself, the overall security situation was disastrous, as administrative chaos and arbitrary actions were the order of the day and the *Zaptia* was unpopular and hardly respected. After the occupation of the two provinces in 1878, k.k. Austrian and k.u. Hungarian gendarmes performed security duty in Bosnia as well as *serežani* from the just abolished military frontier. In Herzegovina, *Zaptie* and Pandurs taken over from Turkish service were employed as well as *serežani*. They wore an 'oriental mixture' of regional costume and elements of uniform, with the red fez as headgear. The commander of the Austro-Hungarian forces, *Feldzeugmeister* Philippović, urged quickly setting up an efficient local police force for the whole of the occupied region.

To safeguard internal security in the occupied region as quickly as possible, a separate k.(u.)k. gendarmerie corps was formed for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1879, which was subordinated to the political authorities in terms of public security and to general headquarters or later the headquarters of k.(u.)k. XV Corps in Sarajevo in military matters.[90] It was recruited from members of the k.k. Austrian gendarmerie, the k.u. Hungarian gendarmerie and the corps of *serežani* still extant in Croatia (in 1881 it was replaced by the Croatian-Slavonian gendarmerie) and by other ranks from Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1882. The still existing Pandurs were placed under the command of the gendarmerie corps in 1879. Volunteers were also accepted from the common army and the two territorial armies.

This 'motley' composition was mirrored in uniform, which contained stylistic elements of the uniforms of the common army, the Austrian gendarmerie and the Hungarian gendarmerie. The statute of 1879 introduced the 'Massa system' already tested in the gendarmerie of the monarchy. Before he started his practical duty, the new gendarme received the first 'Massa instalment' for purchasing his uniform and items of equipment and subsequently an annual lump sum for purchasing new items or maintaining his uniform. The sums were laid down periodically according to the respective material prices by the common Finance Ministry in consultation with the head of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian provincial government.

The tunics, blouses, cloth and summer trousers, breeches, flannel undershirts, overcoats and caps were tailor-made and caps after 1907 at the latest. Service trousers, shirts, gloves, underwear, footwear and gaiters were supplied ready-made in sizes. Weapons and ammunition were supplied to the gendarmerie by the army.[91]

The general provisions of uniform regulations also applied to the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Officers' full dress consisted of the black cap or hat, dark-green tunic, breeches with madder-red piping, black boots, buckle-on spurs and white leather gloves. The infantry officers' sabre with sword knot was carried, as with officers of the Austrian gendarmerie. The blouse was worn with service dress instead of the tunic and the cap served as headgear.

Other ranks' full dress consisted of the cap or dark-red fez, tunic and (for dismounted gendarmes) blue-grey trousers with madder-red piping or (for mounted personnel) breeches with black leather boots and buckle-on spurs. Other ranks' service uniform included the dark-green blouse and blue-grey service trousers with madder-red piping in the cut of the trousers stipulated for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry. During the warm time of the year both officers and other ranks were authorized to wear 'light beige-coloured' cotton summer trousers with service dress, which were tailored extra wide in the seat and thighs for other ranks, creating a similar optical impression to the breeches of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry. Mounted personnel had to wear riding breeches of blue-grey cloth with madder-red piping of the design of dragoon trousers (or officers: riding breeches of the design for officers of the k.k. Austrian cavalry). In summer, the overcoat was to be worn 'in bandoleer fashion' (rolled over the shoulder), but worn in rain and winter.[92] Officers assigned on probation wore the uniform of their parent units for the probation period.

As full dress headgear the hat with cockerel's plume resembled the one for officers of k.k. Austrian *Jäger* units, but had a grenade insignia (a gilt grenade with a slanting silver-plated flame) attached to the left above the plume socket, like the one prescribed for the k.k. Austrian gendarmerie after 1868.[93] A gold cord interwoven with black threads ran round the inside of the brim, ending in two acorns held together by a slide of woven gold wire.

The hat was to be worn exclusively with the tunic and remained part of the full dress of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina when it was replaced by a leather spiked helmet in the k.k. Austrian gendarmerie in 1899.[94] But, according to the regulations of 1906, the hat could only be worn on the territory of

Foot gendarme in service uniform, 1907. The cap of blue-grey cloth has the Imperial monogram pressed of tombac instead of a cap rosette.

Mounted gendarme in service uniform, 1907. On the lower left sleeve of his field blouse he is wearing the chevrons of a long-service volunteer (here: more than 9 years).

Archives HH

Wachtmeister **(station commandant) in parade uniform, 1907. The cap was dark-green with yellow and black-ribbed piping.**

the monarchy (i.e. outside Bosnia-Herzegovina).[95] The background was a decree of XV Corps headquarters of 8 April 1904 ordering that, to obtain a homogeneous appearance, the officers and *Kadett-Offiziersstellvertreter* of all the Bosnian-Herzegovinian units stationed in the occupied region, including the gendarmerie corps, were to wear the field cap like the other officers of the Austro-Hungarian army in the occupied region. For this reason, the officers of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina used the same black cap as the officers of the k.k. Austrian gendarmerie, but with smooth yellow buttons.[96]

True *Wachtmeister* and definitive station commandants wore a cap of dark-green cloth with a black patent leather peak of officers' design, but with the cord, loop and rosette of yellow (cords interwoven with black) silk. The piping was madder-red. Alongside the outside edge of the opening for the head three 4-mm-wide cords of Imperial-yellow silk were attached above and parallel to the surrounding cord at distances of 3 mm each. For other ranks and non-definitive station commandants a cap with the design of the field cap for other ranks of common army infantry regiments was stipulated, i.e. with a pull-down neck flap fastened by two small smooth tunic buttons at the front and a black leather peak. Unlike the infantry field cap, the one of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina was made of fine, blue-grey cloth and reinforced by horsehair inlays. Instead of the rosette at the front, it had the gold-plated Imperial monogram pressed of tombac. During the hot time of the year an externally identical summer cap could be worn (like the field caps of the k.k. Austrian Landwehr introduced in 1907), which did not have a pull-down neck flap.[97]

A dark-red fez 13 cm high was stipulated for Muslim gendarmes.[98] It had a tassel of black silk cords and the Imperial monogram at the front, as described above for the field cap. Otherwise, it was in keeping with the fez for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry and had two parallel horizontal thread loops for attaching the field insignia.

The tunic for officers was made of dark-green material. Originally single-breasted and of a similar cut as for infantry officers,[99] as of 1906 it was double-breasted with eight buttons on each side. The stand-up collar, the cuffs and the piping of the edges of the tunic were madder-red. At the top end the cuffs had two scallops (like the tunics of Hungarian infantry regiments). The officers' tunic had no shoulder-pieces, but, like for cavalry officers, a shoulder loop on the left shoulder made of double, black-gold square braid, attached to the collar by a small tunic button and held together by a woven slide.

The cut of the other ranks' tunic made of dark-green cloth finished in lines followed the pattern of the k.k. Austrian gendarmerie, but with pointed cuffs like for the Hungarian infantry. In 1879, the tunic was fastened at the front by a row of six smooth yellow buttons. It was provided with a stand-up collar, shoulder-straps, shoulder pads, cuffs and madder-red piping. In 1906, a double-breasted pattern was introduced, like for officers, with two rows of eight equidistant smooth brass buttons each. In both skirt folds pockets were cut in vertically from the waist buttons down and covered by double scalloped flaps with two buttons each. The tunic was lined with black cloth and the sleeves with grey satin (the thick, smooth cotton lining was also termed 'sateen').

Blouses had the cut usual in the k.k. Austrian army since 1868 of two breast and skirt pockets cut into each front panel, fastened by scalloped flaps. The button tapes were covered. Blouses were made of dark-green cloth and had a low stand-up collar with madder-red tabs at the front, to which ranks stars were attached. Other ranks' blouses had shoulder-straps buttoned to the collar by a smooth yellow tunic button. Officers' blouses had no shoulder-straps, but, instead, as on the tunic, a double loop of gold-coloured square braid interwoven with black thread on the left shoulder. On both ends of the sleeves other ranks' blouses had an adornment of light-red round cord sewn on like the 'Vitéz-Kötes' on hussar uniforms.

Rank was indicated by the rank stars usual in the k.(u.)k. army since 1849. But enlisted personnel ranks differed from those of the k.(u.)k. army – 1st- and 2nd- class gendarmes wore two white cloth stars (like *Korporäle*), station commandants three white cloth stars (like *Zugsführer*) and *Wachtmeister* or *Wachtmeister* accountants or district *Wachtmeister* three white cloth stars and a narrow, patterned yellow strip of braid (like *Feldwebel*). The sleeve chevrons for long-serving NCOs were in keeping with the pattern usual in the common army.[100]

Officers wore gold stars and field-grade officers gold patterned braid and silver stars, like the corresponding ranks in the common army. In 1898, the War Ministry ordered that 1st class *Hauptleute* (senior captains) definitively posted to the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina had to bear the title of *Rittmeister*.[101]

The other ranks' overcoat was made of blue-grey duffel (a medium-heavy, roughened woollen material in a denim binding) of the same cut and shape as for the k.(u.).k. infantry, i.e. with two rows of five buttons at the front and madder-red piping. Overcoats for mounted gendarmes had the same cut as overcoats for the cavalry of the common army. Officers' overcoats were made of blue-grey cloth with two rows of six smooth gilt buttons, without shoulder-pieces and with madder-red piping. For additional protection against the cold, the overcoat had a button-on fur collar, for officers of Astrakhan and for other ranks of black lambskin.

The signalling whistle lanyard for other ranks of the gendarmerie corps was red, in the shape of the marksmanship award for the infantry of the common army and was to be worn with the tunic. A simple black signalling whistle cord was used with the field blouse or the overcoat. In addition, there were other items of equipment adapted to local conditions, such as fur collars for the winter, riding boots of black calfskin, light summer boots, *opanci* of blackened cowhide and *tozluci* (local knee stockings) for duty in the karst. The regulations of 1907 also mention a fur blouse that had to resemble the normal field blouse externally, but was lined with undyed lambskin.

After 1879 other ranks of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina wore the belt stipulated for the provincial gendarmerie in the rest of the monarchy. It was a 42-mm-wide black leather belt with a two-pronged buckle of polished iron.[102] Later the gendarmerie corps was given a belt like the M 1888 pattern for the infantry of the common army made of black and after 1910 natural brown leather with a box-type buckle of brass showing the Bosnian-Herzegovinian provincial crest instead of the Imperial double eagle.[103] According to the regulations of 1907, the shield with the provincial coat of arms was to be detachable, but versions of the belt buckle are known stamped of one piece. District *Wachtmeister* and mounted other ranks used the cavalry belt with a single-pronged roller buckle of iron. The ammunition pouches of dismounted gendarmes were like the standard ones for the infantry (in peacetime the one-compartment cavalry ammunition pouches could be worn to make patrol duty lighter), those of district *Wachtmeister* and mounted other ranks were like the ones for the cavalry. Then there was an ammunition pouch like the cavalry ammunition pouch for revolver ammunition, the inside of which was provided with two detachable compartments above each other, each containing ten rounds (the top one was attached to the right wall of the ammunition pouch by a 4-cm-long strip of linen).

One of the special items of equipment was the 'patrol pouch' made of finely tanned brown cowhide. The lid was 28 cm wide and 33 cm long and the leather 'bag' was lined with brown double canvas. The patrol pouch was slung over the right shoulder by a 4-cm-wide leather suspension strap in such a way that it hung behind the right hip. The patrol pouch contained the duty book, shackles (precursors of today's handcuffs), wallet, dressing kit, rations for short patrols, canteen, rifle equipment including ten to twenty rounds ammunition supply and screen lantern. The screen lantern was an oil lamp of white metal painted black on the outside with a glass cylinder, with a height of 14.5 cm and a diameter of 6.5 cm and could be attached to the belt.[104]

The weapons of the gendarmerie followed those of the Austrian gendarmerie. Officers carried the M 1861 infantry officers' sabre. The equipment of the Austrian gendarmes and *serežani* transferred to Bosnia included the M 1872 Frühwirth extra corps rifle, a rifled breechloader with a front-stock magazine and rotary bolt action.[105] In 1881, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian gendarmerie corps was given the M 1874 Kropatschek rifle in use by the gendarmerie corps of both halves of the empire and the navy.[106] The 11 mm-calibre weapon had a bayonet. At the end of the 19th century the rifle was replaced by the M 1890 8 mm gendarmerie shortened repeating rifle with bayonet.[107] The rifled breech-loader with straight bolt action already had a Mannlicher mid-stock magazine. In 1906, the M 95 shortened repeating rifle or the repeating rifle for mounted personnel was introduced, which was a rifled breech-loader with straight bolt action, double-sided symmetrical lug locking and a box magazine for five Mannlicher 8 mm rounds. The weapon was in keeping with the standard M 95 rifle of the infantry, introduced in Austria until 1938.

In addition to the repeating carbine, in 1906 the 9-mm gendarmerie revolver and the light-weight M 1877 cavalry sabre were stipulated for district *Wachtmeister* and mounted gendarmes. Apart from the rifle and bayonet, dismounted gendarmes carried the gendarmerie sabre derived from the French 'An IX'[108] pattern with a brass grip and a black leather scabbard. The leather sabre frog had a second frog sewn to the front for carrying the bayonet scabbard. With the sabre, dismounted gendarmerie other ranks carried the same closed sabre tassel as the infantry of the common army, made of Imperial-yellow wool with two black cotton strips in the band, of silk for *Wachtmeister*. The (open) sabre tassel for mounted gendarmerie other ranks was like that of the cavalry of the common army and was made of fine Imperial-yellow sheepswool for gendarmes and station commandants, of Imperial-yellow silk for *Wachtmeister* and district *Wachtmeister*, each with three black woollen strips.[109] The officers' sword knot was in keeping with the open sword knot usual in the Imperial army after 1849, made of gold web with the monogram 'FJ.I.' (Franz Joseph I) on the front and the Imperial double eagle on the back of the tassel button. The gold band showed three parallel black stripes. After the annexation by Austria-Hungary a circular decree of 6 October 1908 laid down that the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina now had to bear the title of 'k.u.k. Gendarmerie Corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina'.[110]

In 1910, the k.u.k. Gendarmerie Corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina was given a pike-grey service uniform instead of the dark-green one.[111] The dark-green tunic and blue-grey trousers remained with full-dress uniform, but otherwise trousers, service and riding breeches, overcoat and blouse became pike-grey with the same madder-red distinguishing colour.[112] The cap of district, accountant and 'true' *Wachtmeister* was now black like the one for officers, but with an Imperial-yellow instead of a gold cap band. Only the 'true'

station commandant retained the dark-green cap with madder-red piping on the seams. For full dress titular station commandants and mounted and dismounted gendarmes had the blue-grey (field) cap with the Imperial monogram (without the crown) stamped of yellow metal. For all gendarmerie other ranks there were now pike-grey field caps and summer caps (the same shape, but without folding-down ear protectors) of the cut of the field cap of the common army. Muslims wore the fez (dark-red with a black tassel, pike-grey with a pike-grey tassel with field dress).The Imperial monogram pressed of tombac was attached to both versions of the fez. The fez was not prescribed for officers according to uniform regulations.

For marching and external duty officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian gendarmerie were given a pike-grey cap in the shape of the other ranks' cap, but only 10.5 cm high at the front and 12 cm at the back. A 4.5-cm-high, 3-cm-wide gilt emblem of pressed tombac, consisting of the Imperial monogram with the Imperial crown above it, was attached instead of the rosette.[113] The edge of the black peak was bordered with thin leather.

After 1907 the 'cape with hood', as used by the k.k. Landwehr mountain troops, was introduced as light rain protection.[114] The cape was an upper garment reaching to about the knees and made of pike-grey cloth. Spread out, it formed three quarters of a circle. The two front panels were covered with cap cloth on the front edges and provided with four tunic buttons (on the right) and buttonholes (on the left). The hood was sewn on along the collar and could be buttoned by a small tunic button. The folding-down collar could be raised and fastened by a collar clasp in front of the chin. Two suspension ribbons were sewn to the inside, with which the folded-back coat could be worn over the shoulders. For other ranks (but interestingly not for officers) a cyclists' cape was also intended. It had the form of a calf-long cape of pike-grey loden. It could be worn on and off duty, but not with full dress.

The signalling whistle lanyard was also changed. According to the uniform regulations of 1911, it was no longer red, but yellow with black threads.[115] For patrols and duty lasting longer than 36 hours there was a rucksack made of brown double canvas with 3-cm-wide suspension straps of brown cowhide. A change also appears to have been made in weaponry, for the regulations of 1911 mention a holster for the repeating pistol instead of the revolver holster.[116] Heeding practical necessities, additional protection against the cold was introduced, such as a pike-grey woollen scarf and a snow cap of sheep's wool. Even a sackcloth of bleached linen, bordered and with a diameter of 60 cm, is mentioned in the regulations of 1911. The organization of the k.u.k. Gendarmerie Corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1909 lists the staff, a training detachment, eight wings (corresponding approximately to a district gendarmerie command) and a total strength of 2,310 men.

According to the regulations of 1911, on parade other ranks had to appear in a black, dark-green or grey-blue cap (or dark-red fez), dark-green tunic and blue-grey trousers, depending on their rank. Mounted officers and enlisted personnel had to wear pike-grey (!) riding breeches (without piping) with the tunic. In full dress, officers wore the black cap and only in the monarchy outside Bosnia and Herzegovina were they authorized to wear the *Jäger* hat with plume and grenade insignia. Only pike-grey uniform could be worn on internal and external gendarmerie duty and it was also allowed off duty. In the hot time of the year summer trousers remained permissible. Apart from in full and marching dress, officers were permitted to use blue-grey riding breeches in combination with leather gaiters or boots. On internal duty and off duty half-boots could be worn instead of lace-up shoes and boots on boggy ground and during floods.

The Special Uniforms of Military Imams

Literally, Islam means 'submission to God', the only God: Allah. Whoever practises this devotion and submits to the will of Allah is a Muslim. Islam is built on five pillars: the profession of faith, ritual prayer, charity given to the needy, the pilgrimage to Mecca and fasting during the month of Ramadan. These five duties must be obeyed by all devout Muslims. The faith is conveyed and passed on in the family and Koran schools. The prayer leader during the ritual prayers in the mosque is termed imam, which, translated literally, means 'leader' or 'model'.[117] Hence, in his function an imam cannot be completely equated with Catholic or Protestant clergy, but he has an important role in spiritual guidance.

Archives HGM

Archives HGM

Military imam in his dark-blue *dzube*, on his head the dark-red fez with the white turban-like *saruk* wrapped around it. On the bandoleer covered with silver braid he is carrying the Koran pouch. In external appearance it resembles the cartouche as worn by officers of cavalry regiments and artillery and transport units. The silver flap is decorated by a gilt double eagle, the side walls by silver-plated 'war trophies'.

Austro-Hungarian army administration took this circumstance into account and, together with the formation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units, standardized military imams who took care of the religious concerns of the conscripts of the Islamic faith.

The provisional statutes on the organization of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops of 1882 provided not only for the appointment of two military imams for the spiritual guidance of soldiers of the Islamic faith, but also laid down their uniform.[118] The headgear was a red fez with a white turban-like binding (*saruk*) and a black tassel with silk fringes. As a sign of humility and respect Muslims keep their heads covered, particularly during prayer. A peak like the one on Austrian field caps and shakos would have been restrictive during the ritual bowing of prayer, so the peakless fez was suitable headwear.

The upper garment was a dark-blue cloth coat reaching over the knee (*dzube*) in the '*shape usual for Mohammedans*', which was probably derived from the Turkish kaftan. The stand-up collar (*jatla*) and the cuffs of the *dzube* were alizarin-red. Along the outside seams of the cuffs there were three narrow, smooth, gold strips of braid as rank insignia (the military imam of the IX rank class corresponded to a *Hauptmann*). Dark-blue, baggy cloth trousers (*salvare*) with tapering legs completed the outer clothing.

Archives HGM

Military Imam Hafiz Ibrahim Effendi Jahić (bh. IR. No. 3) in pike-grey blouse, blue-grey trousers and dark-red fez. The blouse shows the rank insignia typical of military clergy and a shoulder-strap for the Koran pouch. The photograph was presumably taken after 1915 or 1916.

A special garment was the waistcoat (*jecermá*), to be worn under the coat, which was dark-blue with one row of 13 gilt, ball-shaped smooth metal buttons. The belt (*pas*) was a red sash wound around the body (the regulations describe it with the usual English word 'shawl'). Black 'double shoes' completed the imam's uniform.

So as to be able to perform his religious duties, the imam required containers for his implements. Here a 'Koran pouch' and a small suitcase were intended. The 'Koran pouch' is described as being '*similar to the cavalry ammunition pouch for officers of the k.k. army*'. The suspension strap was 2.5 cm wide, made of red kid leather and covered with silver braid. The cartridge-like case was used for storing the Koran and was hung from the right shoulder to the left hip. The suitcase was made of black leather. It was used for storing the four ritual prayer books and a two-metre-long and 1.5-metre-wide prayer mat (*sajada*). When he is travelling – and this equally applied to field service in the army – a devout Muslim should always have his prayer mat so as to fulfil the commandment of cleanliness during prayer.[119]

According to the uniform regulations of 1911, the military imam wore the reddish-brown fez with white turban and a dark-blue cloth coat '*in the shape usual for Mohammedans*'.[120] The stand-up collar and the cuffs were alizarin-red. As in 1882, the outside seams of the cuffs had three gold strips of rank braid (0.9 cm wide), which were now of the same pattern as for Christian chaplains. The trousers were baggy cloth ones, of the same dark-blue shade as the waistcoat, and with 13

Archives FR

Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops, lined up with a military imam. The men are wearing different versions of the fez. The military imam has a white *saruk* wrapped around his fez.

gilt, ball-shaped metal buttons. The sash was red and the shoes black. The Koran pouch was still stipulated. On mounted duty dragoon spurs could be used.

The tentative expansion of the Austro-Hungarian army at the beginning of the 20th century was followed by the expansion of military chaplaincy services. In an Imperial decree of 25 August 1913, Emperor Franz Joseph authorized that the establishment of military chaplains be increased, to which a Muslim military mufti now also belonged. A mufti is a legal scholar appointed by the authorities to counsel the faithful in questions concerning devout conduct in keeping with the Koran and to provide religious and legally binding expertise, if necessary.[121] The uniform of the military mufti was like that of the military imam, but with rank braid above the cuffs corresponding to his rank class.[122] Like the Christian senior field curate, the military mufti belonged to the VIII rank class (corresponding to *Major*) and thus wore a 3.3-cm-wide patterned strip of gold braid like for field-grade officers, above which there was a 0.6-cm-wide black silk stripe and a 0.9-cm-wide gold stripe of the pattern prescribed for military chaplains.[123] For the sake of completeness, let it be mentioned that in 1913 two Serbian Orthodox chaplains were made standard for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops, who belonged to the VII to IX rank classes like Greek Orthodox chaplains.[124] The rank lists of the k.u.k. army of 1917 specify one military mufti 1st class (vacant) and one military mufti 2nd class, three military imams of the IX rank class and no fewer than 50 reserve military imams.[125]

Archives ZIK

Group of officers and a Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantryman in pike-grey uniform (but the latter with a reddish-brown fez, some officers in summer blouses) and a Serbian Orthodox field curate in a black clerical coat, but with the black officers' cap.

The Uniforms of the k.u.k. Border Units

Although they did not belong to Bosnian-Herzegovinian units in the narrow sense, the k.u.k border units (*Grenzjäger*) should be treated here, as their formation and field of activity were closely linked to Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was the mission of the border troops to guarantee the permanent pacification of the country and optimal border protection in the always restless border area of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They were intended in particular to prevent the infiltration of terrorist elements, called 'insurgents' at the time, and arms smuggling etc. as well as to stop '*inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina from crossing the border to join the Serbian and Montenegrin armies*'.[126] The practical model for the border troops was the 'patrol corps' earlier formed by the gendarmerie, who had managed to carry out effective border control with a kind of guerrilla warfare. The tactical tenets for the deployment of the border troops show clear parallels to the k.k. Landwehr mountain troops formed for border protection in 1906, which are also mirrored in uniforms.

After 1908, the year of annexation, in Bosnia and Herzegovina 'border patrol corps' were initially formed from volunteers from the units stationed in the two provinces who had a good command of the Slavic language. With the uniforms of their parent units they wore a black-yellow armband as common insignia.[127] It was omitted after 1910 and weaponry was also modified. Officers no longer carried a sabre (!), but the M 95 shortened repeating rifle with bayonet like other ranks.[128] Due to the increasingly hostile stance beyond the border, permanent military border security was becoming more and more important. An Imperial decree of 28 May 1912 prepared the way for forming special border protection companies, the members of which were to be on the 'oversize establishment' of their parent units. Bosnia and Herzegovina were divided into six company areas. In each company area one border protection company did border duty '*in the forward line*', supported by gendarmerie, customs and excise and state forestry personnel.[129] By creating the position of an 'Inspector of Border Troops' in November 1912 it became evident that a new unit was emerging within the k.u.k. army for border protection.[130]

Following the example of the k.k. Landwehr mountain troops, the border troops attached feather plumes to the left of their caps. During the Balkan crisis in 1912/13 the border troops performed excellently and in 1913 there were already six companies.[131] Whereas the development to date had taken place in the greatest secrecy, in 1914, only a few months before the outbreak of the First World War, official uniform regulations for the k.u.k. border troops were published in the normal decree register of the Austro-Hungarian army.[132] The basic colour of the uniform was pike-grey. The distinguishing colour was grass-green and the buttons smooth and yellow. The special features were a special border troop badge to be worn behind rank insignia on the tunic collar or blouse piping and a feather plume on the cap.

For officers and other ranks the full dress headgear was the *Jäger* hat with a black cockerel plume, as for officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger*.[133] Officers wore the black cap on specific occasions, but with field uniform the pike-grey one. Other ranks were authorized only the pike-grey one. All caps had special plumage. It consisted of black-brown and white feathers (for officers and officer candidates or *Fähnriche* white down feathers), which were attached to a wire spring in the form of a straight, approx. 28-cm-long plume. It was attached to a socket on the left side of the cap and tilted to the front. The socket was sewn to the outside of the neck guard of the pike-grey cap. Unlike the caps of the k.k. Landwehr mountain troops, the peak of the one of the border troops was of black leather on the outside. Officers wore the general embroidered rosette and under it (on both the black and the pike-grey caps) a small hunting horn of tombac with the silver double eagle in the centre. The buttons on the cap were yellow and smooth.

Tunic, blouse and summer blouse were, like those for other k.u.k. *Jäger* units, pike-grey with grass-green distinguishing colour. The relevant rank stars were attached to the tunic collar and to the collar piping of the blouse and the border troop insignia behind them. It showed an eagle taking off from a rock.[134] For field-grade officers the badge was embroidered in silver (because the braid was gold) and for junior officers in gold. Officer candidates and other ranks had a badge of pressed and silver-plated nickel silver. Apart from with full dress, officers were authorized to use a badge pressed in the metal of the corresponding colour.

The officers' coat and cyclists' cape were pike-grey like the other ranks' 'cape with hood', adopted from the k.k. Landwehr mountain troops.[135] It was a short cape made of pike-grey cloth or loden with a cut hood, which, unlike the calf-long cyclists' cape, did not impede walking in mountainous terrain and was much lighter than the overcoat. This 'cape' was fastened by four buttons at the front.

With full dress uniform officers wore pike-grey trousers with grass-green piping and 3.3-cm-wide stripes; on barracks duty and when walking out they could use blue-grey trousers with grass-green piping. In marching dress the officers of the border troops had to wear pike-grey breeches and pike-grey riding breeches without piping on mounted duty. If neither marching nor full dress was ordered, mounted officers could wear trousers adapted as riding breeches (in conjunction with boots, leather or grey cloth puttees) both on and off duty. Other ranks wore pike-grey trousers like other common army *Jäger* units (with grass-green piping). During the warm time of the year both officers and other ranks were authorized to wear summer trousers, except with full and marching dress.

The yellow sash interwoven with black threads, the sword knot of gold web with the M 1861 infantry officers' sabre and

in marching dress the brown leather belt with cross-strap completed the uniform of the officer. In the field the repeating pistol and holster were used as well as binoculars in a leather case and a map case. It was only on 28 August 1914 that a circular decree ordered that the field army was not to wear the field sash (this applied to the entire armed forces of Austria-Hungary). As a sign of rank for all officers the leather belt with metal frame-type buckle (introduced in 1908) would be used in future, showing the Imperial monogram in the centre.[136]

The equipment and weapons of the other ranks of the border troops were like those for the *Jäger*. The infantry belt with a box-type buckle made of brass was natural brown, as were the straps of the calf-skin field pack, the twin-compartment ammunition pouches and the bayonet frog. If local conditions demanded, the border troops could wear half-boots or, as in the k.k. Landwehr mountain troops, mountain boots.[137]

The introduction of field-grey instead of pike-grey uniforms after September 1915 also affected the border troops.[138] But the existing pike-grey uniforms were used up. The rucksack replaced the calfskin field pack and the belt with an iron single-pronged buckle replaced the one with the brass box-type buckle. Due to the shortage of leather, straps were issued made of ersatz material like webbing. '*To economize on leather supplies*', ammunition pouches were stamped from sheet iron.[139] But such makeshift solutions affected not just the border troops, but the whole army. The same applies to the introduction of the field-grey universal uniform in 1916.[140] For the k.u.k. border troops the 'provisional troop badge' stipulated with the universal uniform consisted of the letters 'GrJ' (*Grenzjäger*, border troops) and then the company number in blue. The badges were not very popular and durable, so that they were hardly worn for a lengthy period of time. On the other hand, the collar insignia described above (eagle) remained in use.

During the First World War the border troops were deployed in the Balkan theatre. In 1916 their strength was increased and six battalions formed, which remained in existence until the end of the war.[141]

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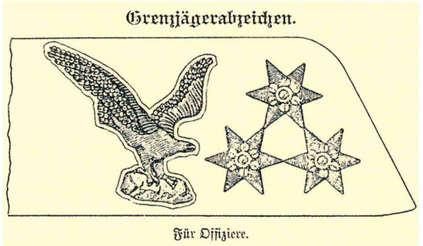

Collar insignia for border troops in the embroidered officers' version, taken from the uniform regulations for the k.u.k. border troops of 1914.

Member of the border troops with – possibly Albanian – teenagers, some of them wearing a white fez.

1 After the 'Compromise' with Hungary of 1867 and the creation of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary the abbreviation 'k.k.' (Imperial-Royal) was retained for the 'common' (i.e. both Imperial Austrian and Royal Hungarian) affairs, including the army. So as to make a clearer distinction from purely Austrian matters (also 'k.k.', i.e. Imperial Austrian, Royal Bohemian etc.), the designation 'k. and k.' or 'k.u.k.' was introduced for common affairs in 1889.

2 Moreover, in the night of 8/9 August 1879 the warehouse of the uniform branch depot in Sarajevo was largely destroyed. Uniforms, items of equipment, riding gear and field utensils amounting to a total of 54,343 crowns were consumed by the flames and were partly *'lost during the rescue operation'*. As the building quickly collapsed, *'it was not possible to rescue the supplies stored in the depot because of the limited number of vehicles'*. Emperor Franz Joseph, personally concerned with the matter, finally had to give his authorization to writing off the damage in an Imperial decree of 8 June 1881. (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Kriegsarchiv – in the following: KA – Bestand Reichskriegsministerium (in the following: KM), 13. Abteilung, Zl. 29-10/4 bzw. No. 807 ex 1881.

3 KA: KM 13. Abt. 24-1 No. 255 ex 1881.

4 Ibid., 13. Abt. 24-1/9 Relation No. 261 ex 1881.

5 Ibid., 13. Abt. 21-13 ex 1903; report of the regimental headquarters of IR 38 of 22 April 1903.

6 Until 1917 the divisions of the k.u.k. army were termed 'Truppendivisionen' to differentiate them from 'Divisionen' (= detachments) of the artillery and cavalry.

7 KA: KM 13. Abt. 22 ex 1904; ministerial decree Abt. 13 No. 1037 of 1904, published by order of k.u.k. XV Corps headquarters No. 3589 of 1904.

8 Anton Höfer, Zur Frage einer feldmäßigen Bekleidung und Ausrüstung, in: *Streffleur´s Militärische Zeitschrift* 83/I (1906).

9 'Pike-grey' had been the traditional uniform colour of the *Jäger* since the 18th century and could thus lay claim to a certain continuity. However the shade, which was actually slightly bluish, was not a success, particularly on the eastern front in 1914, and was replaced by grey-green, 'field-grey' uniforms in 1915.

10 Günter Dirrheimer, *Das k.u.k. Heer 1895: Eine Bildserie von Oskar Brüch* (= Schriften des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums 10, Vienna, 1983), 26.

11 Adam Wandruszka – Peter Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Bewaffnete Macht* (= Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Vol. V, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 433. Alphons Frh. v. Wrede, *Supplement zu den Mittheilungen des k.u.k. Kriegs-Archivs* I (Vienna 1898), 617-628. A separate territorial army was not formed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the territorial army organizations were separate for Austria and Hungary, but Bosnia was under common administration.

12 ZVO of 18 May 1882, Präs.-No. 2883, published in *Normalverordnungsblatt für das k.k. Heer* (in the following: *NVOBl.*), 19 issue of 18 May 1882.

13 Cf. Valeria Heuberger – Heinz Ilming, *Bosnien Herzegowina 1878-1918: Alte Ansichten vom gelungenen Zusammenleben* (Vienna, 1994).

14 Provisorisches Statut über die Organisation der bosnisch-herzegovinischen Truppen, ad Präs.-No. 2883 ex 1882, annex to *NVOBl. f.d. k.k. Heer* 19. Stück of 18 May 1882, Article I (3).

15 Christoph Neumayer, *Der Islam in Österreich-Ungarn 1878-1918: Neuordnung der muslimischen Kultusverwaltung in Bosnien – Muslime in der k.u.k. Armee – Muslime in Wien und Graz* (Diploma thesis University of Vienna 1995), 80ff.

16 ZVO of 2 September 1884, Präs.-No. 3487, *NVOBl. f.d. k.k. Heer* 1884, S. 213 – for details cf. the previous section of this book.

17 Cf. Valeria Heuberger – Heinz Ilming, *Bosnien Herzegowina 1878-1918: Alte Ansichten vom gelungenen Zusammenleben* (Vienna, 1994), 67ff.

18 Richard Knötel, *Uniformenkunde: Geschichte der militärischen Tracht* Vol. X No. 34; cf.also *Adjustirungs- und Ausrüstungsvorschrift für die k.k. oberdalmatinischen Landwehr-Truppen*, VOBl. f.d. k.k. Landwehr Nr. 13, ZVO of 15 April 1878, Präs.-No. 679, concerning the k.k. Upper Dalmatian Landwehr Rifle Battalions Nos. 79 and 80 and the k.k. Mounted Rifles in Dalmatia.

19 Renate Basch-Ritter, *Österreich-Ungarn in Wort und Bild: Menschen und Länder* (Graz, 1989), 73.

20 Provisorisches Statut über die Organisation der bosnisch-herzegovinischen Truppen von 1882 (ad Präs.-No. 2883 ex 1882, annex to *NVOBl. f.d. k.k. Heer* 19. Stück of 18 May 1882), Article IV.

21 Report by k.k. Uniform Depot No. 4 in Vienna to the War Ministry of 27 June 1882, No.1034/61 (KA: KM 13. Abt. 14-2/5 ex 1882).

22 *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1892, ZVO of 22 February 1892, Abt. 13 No. 257.

23 *Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer* Part II (Vienna 1911), 20f.

24 On the suggestion of the firm of Offermann in Brünn (Brno), riding breeches were tested at the k.k. Uhlan Regiment No. 1 that were dyed with the new alizarin instead of the natural madder dye; the innovation proved excellent (report on the results of the trial of alizarin-red breeches ordered by the decree of 26 January 1881, Abt. 13 No. 41, KA: KM 13. Abt. 63-1/7, Zl. 124 ex 1882).

25 The regulation of 1849: decree of the War Ministry of 14 February 1849, *'announcing the authorized changes to the current uniforms of general, field-grade and junior officers and military surgeons'* (Reichsgesetzblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1849: annex to No. 127, 126).

26 *Militärisches Prachtbilderbuch* (Vienna, 1886), plate 11.

27 In Bosnian-Herzegovinian units these breeches were only introduced for individual enlisted persons performing duty on horseback, e.g. battalion and regimental buglers.

28 KA: Army Supreme Command, Adjustierungskommission Pers. No. 8000/20 ex 1918.

29 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1903, 19. Stk.: ZVO of 22 May 1903, Präs.-No. 3320.

30 Provisional Statute of 1882, Art. IV, lit. D.

31 *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1895, supplement No. 37, zu Abt. 13, No. 1761.

32 KA: KM, decree of 28 May 1894, Abt. 13 No. 1126.

33 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1894, 44. Stk.: ZVO of 29 September 1894, Abt. 13, No. 2054.

34 KA: KM, Abt. 13, carton 28-i: decree of 26 September 1895, Abt. 13, No. 1560.

35 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1894, 23 Stk.: ZVO of 21. May 1894, Präs.-No. 729.

36 Decree Abt. 13, 20. supplement ex 1895, No. 183 (quoted from *Schulmeisters Normaliensammlung für das k.u.k. Heer*, index volume [Vienna 1913], 107).

37 According to the uniform regulations of 1910, army members of the Muslim faith were authorized to wear the fez and officers and *Fähnriche* (standardized in 1908) were authorized to use the form of headgear standardized for persons of the same rank in the unit in question. (*Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer,* 1 Part [Vienna 1910], 28).

38 Decree of k.u.k. XV Corps, M.A. No. 1392 of 8 April 1904 (quoted from *Schulmeisters Normaliensammlung für das k.u.k. Heer*, 2nd Vol. [Vienna 1913], 1188).

39 *Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer*, Part 1 (Vienna 1910), 4.

40 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1903, 19. Stk.: ZVO of 22 May 1903, Präs.-No. 3320.

41 KA: KM Register Jg. 1903, No. 42-3/1.2.

42 KA: KM 13. Abt. 24-3/5 ex 1903.

43 KA: KM 13. Abt. 28 No. 53/2 ex 1903.

44 Auger beetles (*Bostrychidae*) are a family of beetles common throughout the world with about 490 species. Many of them are parasites whose larvae inhabit processed timber and destroy it. In this case the similar-looking bacon or varied carpet beetles might have been meant, which can also destroy leather. As early as 1875, Department 13 of the War Ministry in a rescript (No. 1900 ex 1875) had sent uniform depots rules on how to combat auger beetles in footwear. In 1904, an order was given to combat parasites in leather equipment. (*VOBl. f.d. k.u.k, Heer* 1904, 32. supplement No. 243).

45 KA: KM 13. Abt. 27-288/2 ex 1903 (report by the headquarters of the 18th Infantry Division No. 1654 of 18 December 1902).

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., evidence of needs and supply of important equipment for the exercise supplies of BH Infantry Regiment No. 4 of 10 December 1902 (ad No. 449).

48 Ibid., 27-288/1 based on the report of 17 March 1903, No. 159.

49 Ibid., 27 288/2 ex 1903.

50 Ibid., 27-288/3: letter by the k.u.k. common Finance Ministry Zl. 5815 B.H. of 10 May 1903.

51 Decree by the War Ministry, Abt. 13, No. 2480 of 14 February 1906.

52 *Österreichische Bürgerkunde: Handbuch der Staats- und Rechtskunde* Vol. 1 (Vienna, nd), 161.

53 Decree by the War Ministry, Abt. 14, No. 2259 of 30 September 1907 (quoted from *Schulmeisters Normaliensammlung für das k.u.k. Heer*, Vol. 2 [Vienna 1913], 1445).

54 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1908, 37. Stk.: ZVO of 7 October 1908, Abt. 13 No. 545; supplement 3.

55 Ibid., supplement 2.

56 KA: KM Decree Präs. No. 6831 of 4 October 1907.

57 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1910, 20. Stk.: Abt. 13 No. 102.

58 *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1903: No. 30 KM, ZVO of 15 August 1903, Präs.-No. 3790.

59 KA: KM 13. Abt. 27-374/1: No. 1497 ex 1903.

60 Ibid. 27-374/4, No. 14.601 ex 1903.

61 Letter by the k.u.k. common Finance Ministry concerning the affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina of 27 November 1903, Zl. 14.552 B.H.

62 KA: KM 13. Abt. 27-374/2: No. 9113 of 15 September 1903.

63 KA: KM 13. Abt. 27-374/1: No. 1497 ex 1903: decree of 24 August 1903.

64 KA: KM 13. Abt. 27-374/7, ad 48 ex 1903 (report by the administration commission of the BH *Feldjäger* Battalion to the war ministry of 21 November 1903).

65 The same emblem was worn by the Mounted Dalmatian *Landesschützen* belonging to the Austrian Landwehr,

66 *Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer* Part II (Vienna 1911 – *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1911, 34. Stk.: zu Präs.-No. 9301), 40f.

67 *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1908, 37. Stk., 277f.: ZVO of 7 October 1908, Abt. 13 No. 545

68 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1903, 19. Stk.: ZVO of 22 May 1903, Präs.-No. 3320, Pkt. 2/A.

69 Decree of the War Ministry, Präs.-No. 3480 of 24 April 1908 (*NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1908, No. 15: ZVO of 24 April 1908).

70 *Schematismus für das k.u.k. Heer und die k.u.k. Kriegsmarine* 1909 (Vienna, 1909), 1299.

71 *Schematismus für das k.u.k. Heer und die k.u.k. Kriegsmarine* 1912 (Vienna, 1912), 1369.

72 These buttons differed from those of the other military officials of the k.u.k. army, for whom smooth yellow buttons were stipulated.

73 *Ranglisten des kaiserlichen und königlichen Heeres* 1917 (concluded with personnel decree No. 231/16, Vienna 1917), 1523.

74 Anton Sußmann, *Die Österreich-ungarische Armee* (Leipzig, 1913), 11.

75 *Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer* Part VII (Vienna 1911 – *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1911, 23. Stk.: zu Präs.-No. 7144), 19.

76 Ibid., 18.

77 A ZVO of 17 May 1907, Abt. 13 Nr. 666, stipulated the regulation shako for artillery and transport units with a horsehair plume for the officers and other ranks of the stud corps of Austrian horse-breeding institutions.

78 *Schematismus für das k.u.k. Heer und die k.u.k. Kriegsmarine* 1912 (Vienna, 1912), 1145.

79 Hugo Schmid, *Heerwesen*, 2nd Part (Vienna 1914), 22.

80 *Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer*, Part III (Vienna 1911), 71ff.

81 Schmid, *Heerwesen*, 23.

82 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1915, 38. Stk.: ZVO of 13 September 1915, Abt. 13, No. 51978.

83 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1916, 46. Stk.: ZVO of 27 November 1916, Abt. 13, No. 56878.

84 Ibid.

85 KA: KM/k.u.k. AOK to Q Op. No. 53.571.

86 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1917, 21. Stk., 151-154: Normalien No. 76.

87 A circular decree of April 1917 stipulated a sword knot showing the Imperial monogram 'K' for officers instead of the earlier 'FJI'. But the old sword knot was frequently used until the end of the war.

88 KA: KM Abt. 5, No. 11000 res of 1917: Neuorganisationen während des Krieges, 260.

89 Ernst Fojan, Geschichte des Gendarmeriekorps für Bosnien und Herzegowina, in: Fritz Hörmann – Gerald Hesztera, *Zwischen Gefahr und Berufung: Gendarmerie in Österreich* (Werfen – Vienna: Museumsverein Werfen und Bundesministerium für Inneres, 1999), 112-121.

90 Provisorisches Statut für das Gendarmeriekorps für Bosnien und die Herzegowina 1879; announced in *VOBl. für die k.k. Gendarmerie* 4. Jg. (1879), No. 18, §2.

91 Ibid., §45.

92 *Adjustierungsvorschrift des Gendarmeriekorps für Bosnien und die Herzegovina* 1907 (Vienna 1907 – *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1907, 30. Stk.: zu Präs.-No. 6086).

93 The hat following the pattern of that for *Jäger* units of the army had been made standard for the k.k. Austrian gendarmerie in 1861, but in 1868 a somewhat lower and lighter model was introduced. Officers of the k.k. Austrian gendarmerie wore the grenade insignia after 1861, other ranks after 1863, but a silver-plated grenade and a gold-plated flame.

94 Hermann Hinterstoisser – Peter Jung, *Geschichte der Gendarmerie in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, 2002), 44ff.

95 Supplement No. 40 to *VOBl. f.d. k.k. Landwehr* of 5 October 1906, No. 173, zu Präs.-No. 4333 of 1906.

96 The buttons of the members of the k.k. Austrian gendarmerie showed the number of the respective provincial gendarmerie headquarters.

97 *Adjustierungsvorschrift des Gendarmeriekorps für Bosnien und die Herzegovina* 1907, 8.

98 Ibid.

99 *Militärischer Alltag um 1896* (Vienna, 1987), 263f.

100 Cf. Hermann Hinterstoisser, *Die Adjustierung des k.(u.) k. Heeres 1868-1914, Band 1: die Infanterie* (= Österreichische Militärgeschichte, Sonderband, Vienna, 1998), 50f (sleeve chevrons were introduced in the common army in 1869).

101 KA: KM decree Abt. 1, No. 107 of 28 January 1898.

102 Fritz Unteregger, Die Blankwaffen und deren Rüstungssorten im österreichischen Heer von 1860-1918, in: *Militaria Austriaca* 2 (Vienna: Gesellschaft für österreichische Heereskunde, 1979), 51.

103 *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1910: ZVO of 24 June 1910, Abt. 13, No. 1477.

104 *Adjustierungsvorschrift des Gendarmeriekorps für Bosnien und die Herzegovina* 1907, 15.

105 Anton Dolleczek, *Monografie der k.u.k. österreichisch-ungarischen blanken und Handfeuer-Waffen* (Vienna 1896), 111. 'Extra corps' referred to units like the artillery or engineers who carried neither regular infantry rifles nor cavalry carbines. Firearms for these 'extra corps' were usually shorter than those of the infantry.

106 Ibid., 112.

107 *Militärischer Alltag*, 34.

108 This designation refers to the year of its original introduction (1801), the ninth year according to the French revolutionary calendar.

109 *Adjustierungsvorschrift des Gendarmeriekorps für Bosnien und die Herzegovina* 1907, 11.

110 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1908, 34. Stk.: ZVO No. 169, Präs.-No. 8779 of 8 October 1908.

111 *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1910, 24. Stk.: No. 123.

112 *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1911, 34. Stk.: zu Präs.-No. 9301; Part V, 47.

113 It was very similar to the emblem for the cap for naval officers embroidered in gold on dark-blue cap cloth, introduced in the Austro-Hungarian navy from 1891 to 1907, or the emblem for officers of the k.k. Landwehr mountain troops embroidered on grass-green distinguishing cloth, introduced in 1906. Cf. Lothar Baumgartner – Dieter Winkler, *Flottenrock und Kaiseradler* Vienna, 2004), 78; and Hermann Hinterstoisser – M.Christian Ortner – Erwin A. Schmidl (eds.), *The Austrian Mountain Troops* (Vienna: Militaria, 2006).

114 *Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer*, Part V (Vienna 1911).

115 *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1911, 34. Stk.: zu Präs.-No. 9301, Part V, 48f.

116 It was probably the Roth-Krnka 8 mm repeating pistol.

117 Walter M. Weiss (ed.), *Dumonts Handbuch Islam* (Cologne: Dumont, 2002), 125.

118 Provisorisches Statut über die Organisation der bosnisch-herzegowinischen Truppen, *NVOBl. f.d. k.k. Heer* 1882, 19. Stk.: ad Präs.-No. 2883, Art. IV, lit. C.

119 Gottfried Hierzenberger, *Der Islam* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 135.

120 *Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer*, Part VII (Vienna 1911 – *NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1911, 23. Stk.: zu Präs.-No. 7144), 2.

121 Weiss, *Dumonts Handbuch Islam*, 126.

122 KA: KM Präs. No. 13136 v. 1913: ZVO of 17 September 1913.

123 *Adjustierungsvorschrift für das k.u.k. Heer* 1911, Part VII.

124 KA: KM Präs. No. 13136 of 1913, annex.

125 *Ranglisten für das kaiserliche und königliche Heer* (Vienna: k.u.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1917), 1344f.

126 KA: KM Präs., Reservatakt Präs.-No. 10212 ex 1912.

127 This yellow armband with a black central stripe was also intended as insignia for the personnel of the field gendarmerie, which, however, was only formed in the event of war. It was to be worn on the upper left sleeve of the field blouse or overcoat.

128 KA: KM Präs. 81-12/1 No. 4942 ex 1910.

129 KA: Instruktion für die k.u.k. Grenzjägertruppe, militärischer Teil; zu Res.-Nr. 4200 ex 1912 des k.u.k. Armeeeinspektorates in Sarajevo (Sarajevo 1912).

130 *Oberst* Heinrich Edler von Doffa was appointed inspector of the k.u.k. border troops and held this office until 9 March 1915 (KA qualifikation liste Doffa, carton 501, and Versorgungsakt des Versorgungsamtes Vienna, Vol. II, No. 22937).

131 KA: KM Präs. 82-1/1 No. 1240 ex 1913.

132 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1914, 33. Stk.: Abt. 13, zu Präs.-No. 2282/14.

133 The horn emblem of tombac to be attached above the plume socket on the left of the hat had a silver-plated double eagle in the centre (for other ranks of silver-coloured pakfong). For officers the round hat cord was made of gold web interwoven with black, for other ranks of grass-green wool and for *Fähnriche* of grass-green silk. The hat cord ended at the back in a gold or green spun acorn fastened by a woven slide of the same colour.

134 This insignia was the model for the border protection badge introduced in the Austrian army in 1961 (cf. Hermann Hinterstoisser: Das Grenzschutzabzeichen, in: *Pallasch* 9 [Salzburg 2001], 108).

135 For details cf. Hermann Hinterstoisser – M.Christian Ortner – Erwin A. Schmidl (eds.), *The Austrian Mountain Troops* (Vienna: Militaria, 2006).

136 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1914, 43. Stk., S. 195: Abt. 13, No. 4002.

137 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1914, 33. Stk., S. 4: Abt. 13 zu Präs.-No. 2282/14.

138 *VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1915: ZVO of 13 September 1915, Abt. 13, No. 51978.

139 Such ammunition pouches were only issued in one-compartment versions, like the cavalry ammunition pouch.

140 *VOBL. f.d. k.u.k. Heer* 1916: ZVO of 27 November 1916, Abt. 13, No. 56878.

141 Ludwig Schnagl, Bosnisch-herzegovinische Grenzstreifkorps und k.u.k. Grenzjäger von 1908-1918, in: *Zeitschrift für Heeres- und Uniformkunde* (1935), 126ff.

The Fez

by Christoph Neumayer and Hermann Hinterstoisser

The fez was the most characteristic item of clothing of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units and acquired major symbolic significance. In the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century Austria-Hungary was the dominant fez manufacturer world-wide. The fez was used militarily by a number of units throughout the world until into the 21st century.

The fez refers to a form of headgear made of usually red felt in the shape of an obtuse cone often flattened at the top. A dark-blue or black tassel of woollen or silk threads is usually attached to the top centre. Head dress plays a major role in Islamic countries, as Muslims keep their heads covered as a sign of humility and respect, not only, but particularly during prayer.[1] The fez proved to be very practical for this purpose.

The cultural origins of the fez have not been clarified definitively. The theory most often quoted postulates that the fez was invented by an artisan in the Moroccan city of Fes. Other theories see it as a further development of Roman headgear in North Africa or of a Byzantine hat. An origin in Moor-occupied Andalusia is also supposed. Different types of red felt cap emerged regionally: the flat *chechya* from Tunisia, the higher Egyptian *tarboosh* (sometimes consisting of cloth stretched over cane work) and the Turkish fez. In addition, regional varieties developed like the white *kece* in Albania or the Greek *phareon*. The production of fezzes is traceable in Spain, Genoa and Milan after the 16th century.[2] At the beginning of the 18th century Tunisia dominated fez production. France, Genoa and Livorno remained or became new competitors.

The fez became widespread when it was introduced as headgear for civil servants in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839; Sultan 1808-1839), the son of Sultan Abd ul Hamid (1774-1789) and a Creole of French descent, in the course of major reforms planned to introduce new headgear for the civil servants of the Empire instead of the turban. In 1826 the Ottoman Grand Admiral Koca Hüsrev Mehmed Pasha brought back a number of specimens of fez from manoeuvres off Tunis and presented them to the sultan. The latter had thought about introducing the European tricorne, but had dismissed the idea because of the ostensible religious background, i.e. that it symbolized the Trinity (of the Roman Catholic)

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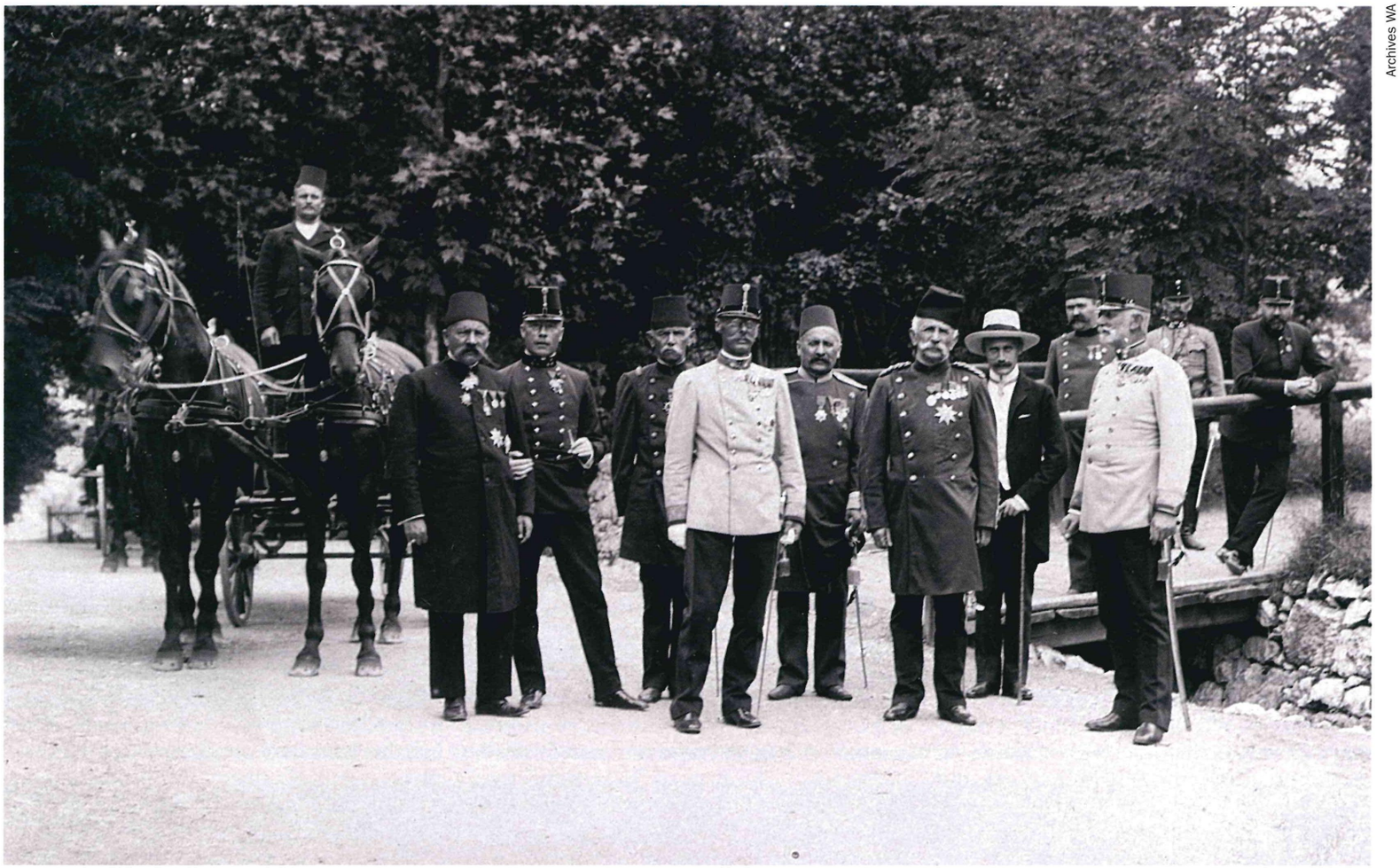
Variants of the fez. This graphic shows the most varied types and modes of wear of the fez, without claiming to be complete. The white *kece* without tassel of the Albanians, the red Turkish fez and the different African models illustrate the variety of oriental headdress.



Archives WA

Visit by Suleiman Pasha (6th from the right, with breast star) and Turkish dignitaries (with fez) to Plevlje in Sandžak Novi Pazar, 1906.

deity. The fez seemed to be the better, and cheaper, solution and was introduced for selected units of the Ottoman army on 10 June 1826.

Two days later the Janissaries, an elite unit that had rejected all attempts at reform in the decades earlier, mutinied against Mahmud II. But they were overpowered by loyal Ottoman troops and subsequently disbanded. Nothing stood in the way of introducing the fez. The plan to fit the fez with a peak as protection against the sun was prevented by the Islamic clergy with the argument that the peak impeded the wearer when performing his prayers and having to touch the ground with his forehead. (For this reason, in the 19th and 20th centuries the fez proved to be the ideal form of headgear for the frequently Islamic colonial troops of many powers, especially in Africa.) In 1827 a peakless fez was introduced for civil servants in the Ottoman Empire. The silk tassel also had a religious connotation and was considered an 'Islamic detail', as it symbolized the hair by which devout Muslims could be elevated to Paradise by Allah.[3]

Despite further initial resentment the fez quickly took off on its triumphal course throughout the sphere of Ottoman rule and influence. Muslim merchants wore the fez in the Balkans, on the Mediterranean littoral, on the Arabian Peninsula and even in sub-Saharan Africa. In keeping with Mahmud II's intentions it was not only worn by Muslims, but also by Greeks in Smyrna (Izmir) or by Maronite Christians in Beirut. Subsequently, the fez became part of the national costumes of southern Dalmatia and of men's clothing in some Asian countries.[4] Women wore the fez, too, but a smaller version without a tassel. As the fez was part of the uniform of civil servants and military personnel – even members of reserve units were instructed not to take off the fez in civilian life – it became an identity-generating and patriotic symbol of the Ottoman Empire.[5]

Imperial Germany made allowance for this development when it handed over two ships to the Ottoman Empire in 1914.[6] When the two ships arrived at Constantinople, the German sailors and some of the officers were demonstratively wearing the fez, which was understood by the politicians present and the Turkish population as a sign of solidarity and rapprochement.[7]

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1916 advertisement for the Company of Austrian Fez Factories, which was amalgamated under the aegis of Creditanstalt in 1899.

Austria as the World's Largest Manufacturer of Fezzes

In Austria the manufacture of fezzes commenced at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. It is said that a French soldier played a major role who had remained in Bohemia after the Napoleonic Wars and taught companies how to produce the fez.[8] Johann Reißer founded a fez factory in Margareten in Vienna in 1809, but it was closed after his death in 1818. Nevertheless, he employed the first steam engine in Vienna for manufacturing fezzes (it was sold to Olomouc when the factory was closed).[9]

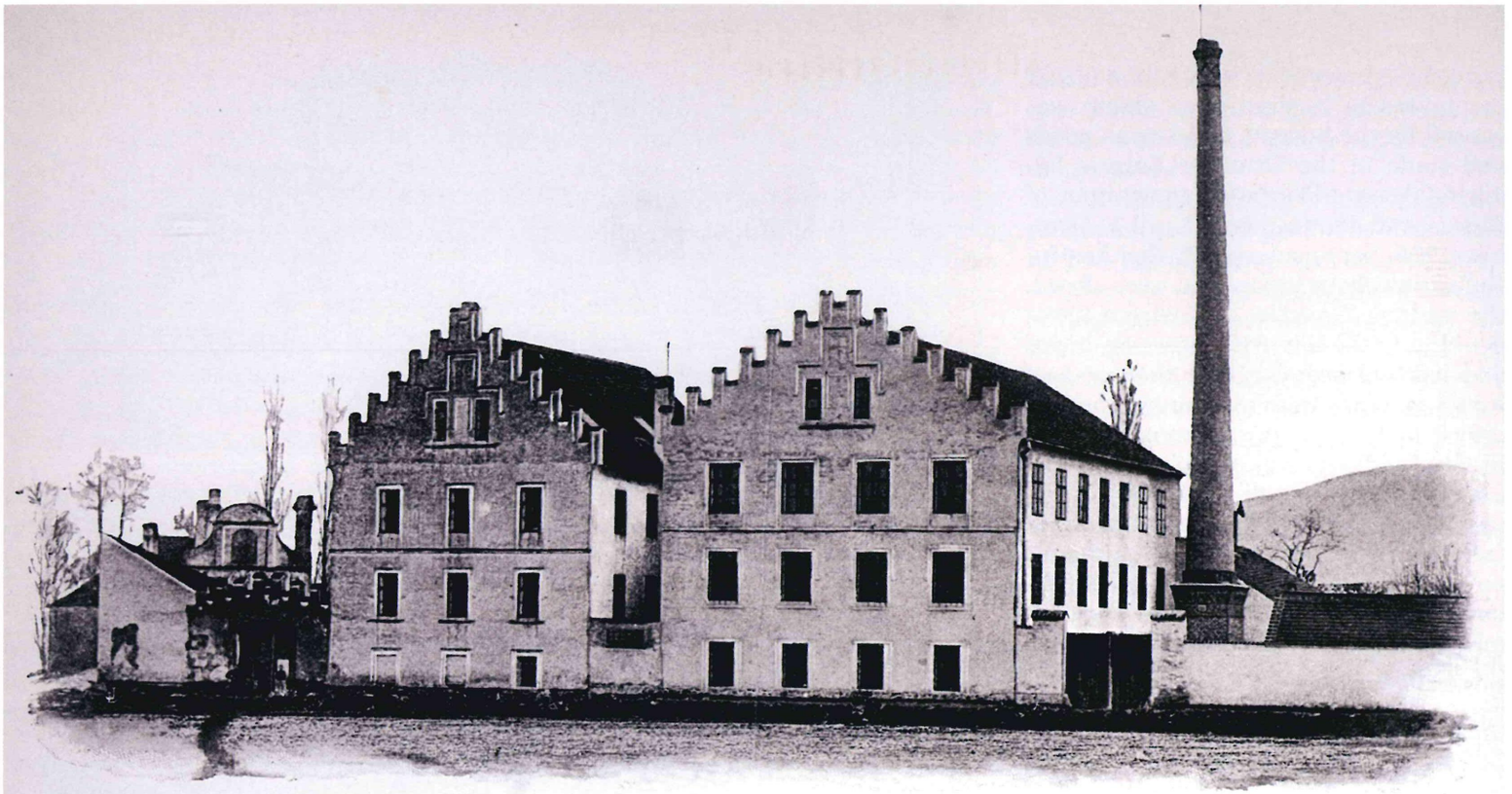
Especially after the discovery of synthetic aniline dyes after 1856 the southern Bohemian town of Strakonitz (Strakonice) became the centre of fez manufacture in Austria. The largest enterprise was the firm of 'Wolf Fürth & Co. k.k. Private Fez Factory in Strakonitz (Bohemia)'. The second-largest fez factory was J. Stein & Co., which also had a factory in Mutěnice and produced about 1.2 million fezzes a year at the end of the 19th century.[10] Other fez producers were Mathias Zucker after 1850 and Moses Weil after 1824.[11] Apart from these four fez factories in Strakonitz there was also a series of other factories in Austria, such as in Mikulovice (Silesia), Pisek (Moravia) and Gloggnitz (Lower Austria). There the industrialist family Volpini de Maestri had taken over the 'Rösselmühle' yarn spinning works in 1852 and produced fezzes as well as sheepswool pressed and cotton dry felts after 1874.[12] An example of one of the minor factories was 'Löw-Beers Söhne, Aron & Jacob' in Alžbětín near Brněnec (Bohemia). The firm of 'Hermann Franz Söhne' in Lindengasse in Vienna manufactured tassels for fezzes.[13]

The four fez factories in Strakonitz and 'Ig. Bondy NF' in Husenitz, 'J. Klein & Sohn' in Pisek and 'A. Volpini und Söhne' in Gloggnitz merged in 1899 with a total of ten factories (three factories discontinued their fez production and made their machines available to the enterprises mentioned) into the 'Stock Corporation of Austrian Fez Factories' under the aegis of the *Creditanstalt*.[14] After 1902 the range was expanded by also producing blankets and spreads.[15]

Of course, the majority of Austrian fez production was exported. Here Austrian Lloyd played an important role and became perhaps the most important shipping company in the eastern Mediterranean in the course of the 19th century. Here, too, the representatives of the firm of Wolf Fürth & Co. played a pioneering part for the entire sector. Albania imported four fifths of its fez requirements from Austria in 1852; in Smyrna, too, Wolf Fürth was already the main supplier at this time.[16] The countries adjoining on the Danube and western Greece exclusively imported fezzes from Austria. In the 1860s the Ottoman state fez factory in Eyüp/Constantinople emerged for a short time as a serious competitor for the Austrian products, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nevertheless, Austrian fez exports could be expanded and ranged from North Africa – in 1867 Wolf Fürth managed to acquire the order to provide the entire Egyptian army with fezzes – to Arabia. *'Thus, in the course of not quite three decades the Austrian fez factories had grown into the largest suppliers of the national headdress of the Mohammedan and had gone through a development almost unprecedented in the history of Austrian industry.'*[17]

The international hegemony of Austrian fezzes was also recorded in the official exhibition report of the World Fair in Paris in 1867: *'That fez production has disappeared from France, where it had its seat, seems an irretrievable fact [...]. But the competition from Pisa and Livorno has also ceased since the ports of the Levant have opened to the untiring activity and unrelenting persistence of Austrian manufacturers, among whom the firm of Wolf Fürth & Co. takes an eminent position.'*[18]

At the beginning of the 20th century Austria-Hungary's fez industry consisted of nine industrial fez factories with a total of 1,918 employees.[19] In addition, there



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Premises of J. Stein & Co. Fez Factories, after Wolf Fürth & Co. the second-largest fez factory in the manufacturing centre of Strakonitz.

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Everyday life in an Austrian fez factory. Raw felt stumps are stored in the baskets in the centre and at the right front. To the left of the picture steaming a semi-produced fez, in the centre and on the right placing the stumps on wooden moulds.

were three businesses with a total of 459 employees.[20] A short-lived slump was caused by the boycott of Austrian goods and trade in the Ottoman Empire following Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Until 8 October 1908, for instance, all the Austro-Hungarian shops in Istanbul were closed, the steamer *Galizien* of Austrian Lloyd could not take any passengers on board and even in December 1908 thousands of Austrian fezzes were torn up by a furious crowd in front of the customs building in Smyrna.[21] Overall, Austria exported a fourth fewer fezzes in 1908 than in the year before.[22] Although mainly Italian fez factories tried to replace Austrian fezzes on the Ottoman market, '*even during the boycott Austrian factories could maintain their exports and resume their old position after the end of the embargo*', as is stated in the fundamental study on the Austrian fez industry.[23] The Austrian fez industry upheld its supremacy in the Levant, Egypt and the north littoral of Africa until the First World War and exported fezzes as far as India and the east and west coasts of Africa. These exports were only lastingly disturbed by the First World War, but during the war could be somewhat offset by the increased production of military fezzes.

Military business played an important role for Austrian fez production, as it enabled long-term secure sales. This applied both to export (even the Turkish army bought Austrian fezzes until the war ministry took over the factory in Eyüp in 1889) and the Austro-Hungarian army. When Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops were stationed in Vienna after 1891, the fez manufacturer Zucker in Strakonitz even offered the War Ministry to iron and clean the fezzes of the Bosniaks garrisoned in Vienna free of charge, so that they would look cleaner, '*which is necessary in the capital Vienna*'.[24] That considerable quantities were involved is shown by the invitations to tender and orders. In 1903 the war ministry ordered a total of 8,500 fezzes with tassels from the 'Stock Corporation of the Austrian Fez Factories' in Vienna, of which 4,000 were to be delivered to Uniform Depot No. 2 in Budapest, 3,000 to Uniform Depot No. 3

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The Company of Austrian Fez Factories in Vienna underlined its competence with oriental representations on the wrappings. The townscape on the left shows Istanbul, but the fez was 'made in Austria'. In French fezzes were called *Bonnets Turcs*, but they were manufactured in Austria.

in Graz and 1,500 to Uniform Depot No. 4 in Kaiser-Ebersdorf. Moreover, '*ordinary tassels*' for the fez were ordered from the firm of Max Zerkowitz in Vienna for Uniform Depot No. 3 in Graz.[25]

In the meantime, the fez had become the absolute symbol of everything Oriental. It was no coincidence that the firm of Julius Meinl, founded in 1862, traders in colonial goods and coffee roasters, chose the moor with a red fez on his head as their corporate emblem – today still the well-known logo for quality coffee blends.[26] In Austria the fez was appreciated as comfortable headgear at home or as a smoker's cap and occasionally worn until the late 19th century, mainly by elderly people.

After 1918 the demise of the fez industry could not be stopped. On the one hand, it was a consequence of the First World War and, on the other, of the reforms by Kemal Atatürk, who introduced western clothing to Turkey and forbade the fez. Bruno Kreisky, perhaps the best known Austrian chancellor in the Second Republic, wrote in his memoirs about the collapse of the old Austrian fez industry: '*My father, too, was affected by this tragedy. He was a senior executive in one of the major textile enterprises of the monarchy which had its main factories in Bohemia and Hungary, in little towns called Strakonitz or Güns-Köszeg. The company – and this is a little irony of history – also had a fez factory. [...] Shortly after the war Kemal Atatürk had forbidden the fez to be worn and thus a major market disappeared*'.[27]

Nevertheless, Austrian brands of fez were manufactured until the 1950s. They were of the brand Habig (a Viennese firm) which were sold on the Egyptian market. A final episode was constituted by the production and export of fezzes for Nigeria by the Viennese hatter Gerhard Ita, who employed two thirds of his 60 employees in the fez manufacture after 1967. He sold about 10,000 units every year, but discontinued fez production after import bans by the Nigerian government in 1982.[28]

Archives CN

Street scene in Sarajevo – the fez dominated male costume. On the left a soldier of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in light-blue uniform with a dark-red fez.

Archives VM

Sailors of the Austro-Hungarian navy on an Adriatic beach. The sailor in the centre is wearing the red fez.

The Fez as Military Headgear

After the introduction of the fez to the Ottoman army and in view of its increasing popularity in the sphere of Ottoman rule and in North Africa, it also became part of the uniform – in differing designs – in a series of armies in the 19th and 20th centuries. Apart from the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops and gendarmerie, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire the fez was also intended for Muslim members of the k.u.k. navy.[29] There had even been thoughts about introducing a blue fez for winter uniform and a white one for the summer uniform.[30] The red fez ultimately remained. Similarly, during the First World War Albanian units of the Austro-Hungarian army wore the red or field-grey fez or its Albanian variant, the white *kece* without a tassel, often with the red and black Albanian cockade attached to the front.[31]

In the British army the fez had already been introduced for West Indian troops in 1858 and was worn wrapped in a white turban. It remained part of the uniform until the regiments were disbanded in 1927. The King's African Rifles, founded in British East Africa in 1902, wore a high fez, black for the 1st and 2nd battalions, red for the 3rd, until they were disbanded during decolonization in the 1960s. During the First World War a khaki cover with a neck guard was worn.[32] The African other ranks of the British Northern Rhodesia Police wore a black fez.[33] The troops of the West African Frontier Force also wore the fez, but of a lower design. Even in India many troops wore the fez, such as the enlisted personnel of the Queen's Own Corps of Madras Sappers and Miners with the khaki field uniform introduced in 1887 (officers wore a pith helmet).[34]

Different types of fez were worn in the French army, especially by North African troops. The *spahis* and *tirailleurs sénégalais* still wore fezzes, with khaki covers, during the Second World War.[35] The *zouaves*, who were recruited of Europeans notwithstanding their exotic uniform, wore a red fez with a blue tassel; the mode of wearing it pushed into the nape of the neck conveyed a typically daredevil impression.[36] The *chasseurs d'Afrique* had a higher, almost cylindrical *chechya* of red felt with black horizontal stripes at the bottom edge and the

Archives LM

Archives LM

Archives LM

French *spahis* (light cavalry), all equipped with headdress strongly reminiscent of the fez. The photographs originate from the period from 1880 to 1900.

chechyas of the *spahis* were crimson without the black stripes.

The French *zouave* regiments were a sign of the romantic fashion for everything oriental in the 19th century. They subsequently influenced uniform fashions in other armies, as in Italy, where the *Bersaglieri* today still use a red fez with a large blue tassel attached to a long cord as interim headgear.[37] This use can be traced back to the uniforms of the *zouaves*, alongside whom and the Turks the Piedmontese-Sardinian troops fought during the Crimean War in 1855. The French *zouaves* became particularly popular during the Franco-Austrian War of 1858, which was a significant stage on the way to Italian unification.[38] The typical mode of wear of the *Bersaglieri*, with the fez pushed deep into the nape of the neck, was adopted in the First World War by the *Arditi*, the assault troops of the Italian army formed in 1917, whose fez was black.[39] Derived from the *Arditi*, the black fez also became part of the uniform of many Fascist units during the interwar years.[40] On the other hand, the enlisted personnel of the Italian colonial units (*Ascari*) in East Africa and Libya wore a strikingly high red fez, which was also adopted for the uniform of the Italian forest police in Somalia, Eritrea and occupied Ethiopia in 1937. This fez worn by the police soldiers recruited in the country had the silver-coloured emblem of the *Corpo Forrestale* on the front and a green tassel. Officers wore a lower black fez with a black tassel, rank braid on the left and the gold corps insignia at the front. A low red fez with a green tassel reaching down to the shoulders was prescribed for the *Milizia Nazionale Forrestale* in Libya.[41]

In the USA before and during the Civil War (1861-1865) many volunteer and militia units adopted the exotic uniform of the French *zouaves*. It usually included a red fez, which in shape often resembled a jelly bag cap, with a yellow or blue tassel on a long cord.[42]

German colonial troops, but not German officers or NCOs, wore the fez with their uniform, both the *Askaris* in German East Africa (today's Tanzania), initially recruited of Sudanese, the members of the police in Togo and the *Schutztruppe* for Cameroon.[43] The *tarboosh* worn in

Archives CN

Appearance of the French army shortly before and during the First World War. The *tirailleur algérien* (no. 5) is wearing the *chéchia*, a wide, almost cylindrical fez.

East Africa (red, later khaki with a characteristic neck veil) was much higher than the red rolled fez common in Togo and Cameroon. As a rule, German colonial troops wore the Imperial eagle at the front of the fez.[44]

The *Force Publique* in Belgian Congo and the Portuguese *Compenhias Indigenas* in Mozambique – both of them enemies of the German *Schutztruppe* in East Africa during the First World War – also wore a red fez, sometimes with drape-coloured covers (the colour drape refers to a shade of beige). The fez was also part of the uniform of the Spanish colonial troops from Spanish Morocco and the North African enclaves of Ceuta and Mellila, the *Muros* or *Regulares*.[45]

The Greek *Evzoni*, still in existence as the presidential guard, have worn a special design of the fez, the *phareon*, a small cap with long fringes reaching down over the shoulder, since the Greek war of liberation against the Turks in the early 19th century.

The Ottoman army, in whose ranks the success story of the fez began, introduced the *Kabalak*, a light cloth-covered helmet, shortly before the First World War, although during the war Turkish soldiers liked wearing the practical fez, particularly off duty.[46] In Turkey the age of the fez ended abruptly in 1926 when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk banned the Ottoman form of headgear as the symbol of an obsolete and old-fashioned era. In Egypt it took until 1953 for the fez to be forbidden and in other regions of North Africa and Arabia the fez survived even longer.[47]

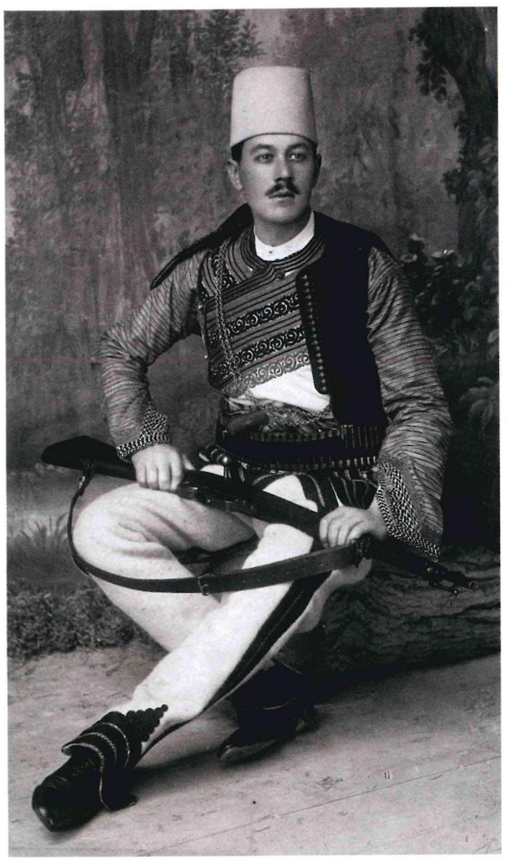
Today only the North African Kingdom of Morocco, the country of origin of the fez, makes, so to speak, official reference to this traditional headgear. King Mohammed VI often wears a fez on official occasions and photographs.

In the light of the supra-national tradition of tolerance in the Austro-Hungarian army an almost perverse curiosity should be mentioned here. Of all regimes, the Third Reich had troops wearing the fez. On 30 April 1943 the fez was made standard for members of the Bosnian volunteer division and later 13th Mountain Division of the Waffen-SS *Handschar* ('1st Croatian'). Here the *Reichsführer SS* Heinrich Himmler deliberately referred to and abused the tradition of the Bosniaks

Archives FR

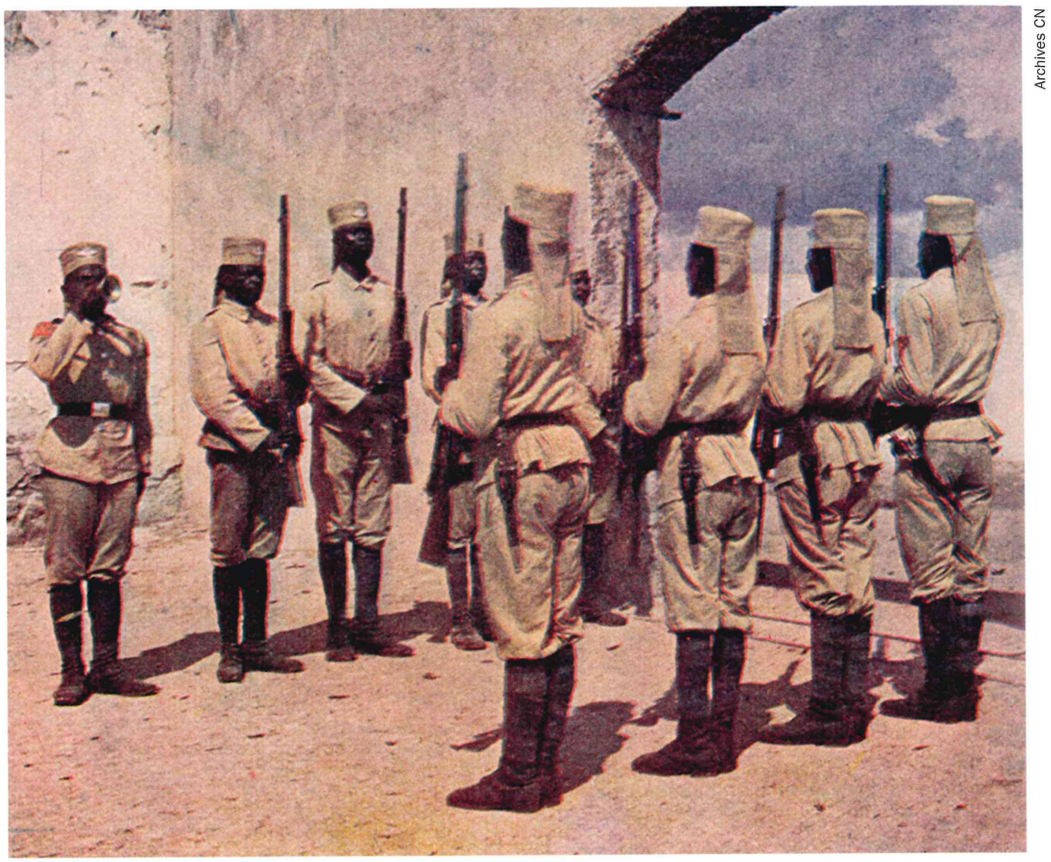
Italian *Bersaglieri* around 1916, the front one with the typical variant of the red fez with a long blue tassel. The *Bersaglieri* standing next to him, evidently prisoners of war, have removed the plumes and insignia from their traditional wide-brimmed hats.

Archives FR



Albanian in his picturesque costume with the white *kece*, around 1914. It had the shape of the fez, but no tassel.

Archives CN



***Askaris* of the *Schutztruppe* for German East Africa in the khaki-coloured uniform introduced in 1896. The *Tarbusch* derived from the fez had a neck flap of the same colour.**

in the Austro-Hungarian army.[48] The members of the short-lived 23rd Mountain Division of the Waffen SS *Kama* ('2nd Croatian') wore the fez as of June 1944. These fezzes were dark-red for full dress and walking out uniform and field-grey for service dress, with the corresponding insignia at the front (the SS eagle and death's head).[49] The tassel was made of black synthetic silk. Bosnian members of Croatian units are also said to have worn a red fez with gold metal insignia during the Second World War.[50]

The Fez in the k. u. k. Army

After the formation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units and above all during the First World War the fez became the symbol of the courage and fortitude of the Bosniaks. A number of memoirs from the First World War report that the mere wearing of the fez awed enemy troops. Occasionally other units deliberately wore the fez in order to confuse the enemy. This is substantiated in the case of the relief of the Fourth Bosniaks on Rombon by soldiers of the Salzburg Infantry Regiment No. 59 on 7 and 8 October 1917, when the latter wore the fez for a few days to disguise the regrouping. A *muezzin* also remained in the position for a few days.[51]

The fez was standard for the enlisted personnel of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. Although Christian officers had the option of wearing the black cap instead of the fez, the latter became more and more popular, particularly during the war. All the same, in 1913 there had still been thoughts about restricting the fez to Muslim members of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units.[52] At the same time requests were made to award flags to and appoint colonels-in-chief of the four Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments. These thoughts were ultimately part of the discussion on more closely integrating Bosnia in the monarchy. The heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, whose military cabinet was also concerned with this issue, spoke clearly in favour of '*retaining the fez as the standard headgear of all units recruited in Bosnia-Herzegovina*'. Otherwise, '*Apart from the form of headgear [...], the troops recruited in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be dressed like similar units of the common army, i.e. with the long trousers of the German infantry instead of the Bosnian breeches*'. But this did not happen. On the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 the Bosnian-Herzegovinian formations went to the field in fez and Bosnian breeches.

1 Walter M. Weiss (ed.), *Dumonts Handbuch Islam* (Cologne, 2002), 130.

2 Markus Purkhart, *Die österreichische Fezindustrie* (Dr. phil. Diss. University of Vienna 2006), 14f. With his dissertation Purkhart wrote the first comprehensive survey of the Austrian companies manufacturing fezzes.

3 Jeremy Seals, *Der Fez* (Stuttgart 1998), 41.

4 Henny Harald Hansen, *Kleidung der Völker in Farben* (Berlin 1977), 40f.

5 Gisela Haberer, *Die Aufstellung der Redif-Truppen in der frühen Tanzimatzeit* (thesis University of Munich 1984), 50.

6 They were the battlecruiser *Goeben* and the light cruiser *Breslau*, replacements for two warships ordered by Turkey in Great Britain, but no longer delivered due to the outbreak of war in 1914.

7 Under the Ottoman flag the ships were given the names *Yavuz Sultan Selim* (Sultan Selim the Grim) and *Midilli*. After the formal exchange of flags on 15 August 1914 half of the crews switched to Ottoman service; instead of the German sailors' cap, ratings continued to wear the fez. Cf. Peter Jung, *Der k.u.k. Wüstenkrieg* (Graz, 1992), 12.

8 *Die Gross-Industrie Österreichs* 4 (Vienna 1898), 393.

9 Christine Klusacek – Kurt Stimmer, *Margareten zwischen gestern und morgen* (Vienna 2002), 50.

10 *Die Gross-Industrie Österreichs* 4 (Vienna 1898), 396.

11 Markus Purkhart, *Die österreichische Fezindustrie* (Dr. phil. Diss. University of Vienna 2006), 78f.

12 For details and the subsequent development of the Austrian fez industry until 1918, apart from Purkhart's study, cf. also Kurt Bathelt, Nachrichten über den Fezexport Österreichs nach dem Orient im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert, in: *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 29 (Stuttgart 1936), 296-303.

13 *Der Compass – Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Österreich-Ungarn 1914* (Wien 1914), Vol. V, 161. In this part of the district of Neubau there was the centre for *Posamentierer* (the manufacturers of braid, tassels, fringes and ornate cords). In Neubaugasse today there is still a shop selling such articles.

14 Purkhart, *Fezindustrie*, 81, 90.

15 *Die Gross-Industrie Österreichs*, N.F. II (Vienna 1908), 95.

16 In his study Kurt Bathelt primarily used the Austro-Hungarian consulate reports as primary sources.

17 Bathelt, Fezexport, 299.

18 Quoted from the article in *Die Gross-Industrie Österreichs* 4 (Vienna 1898), 394.

19 Count at the beginning of 1906, in: *Der Compass – Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Österreich-Ungarn 1911* (Vienna 1910), Vol. II, 215.

20 Count of commercial enterprises of 3 June 1902; ibid., 213.

21 Jeremy Seals, *Der Fez* (Stuttgart 1998), 243/244.

22 Statistics of foreign trade for 1907 and 1908; quoted in Purkhart, *Fezindustrie,* 178.

23 Bathelt, Fezexport, 303.

24 Mathias Zucker to the War Ministry, 14 September 1891 (KA: KM 13. Abt, 7-6/1.5 ex 1891).

25 KA: KM 13. Abt. 9-118 ex 1903.

26 Ernst Bruckmüller (ed.), *Personenlexikon Österreich* (Vienna 2001), 319.

27 Bruno Kreisky, *Zwischen den Zeiten: Erinnerungen aus fünf Jahrzehnten* (Vienna 1986), 41f.

28 Purkhart, Fezexport, 77.

29 Organic regulation for the personnel of the k.u.k. navy, III main part, II part, *Marine-NVOBl.* XXVIII Stück ex 1911, P.K./M.S. No. 3656, 2. section Pkt. 117a, page 99 (*'The fez is standard headgear for naval personnel of the Mohammedan faith; but they are also authorized to wear the cap prescribed for the respective rank.'*).

30 Erwin A. Schmidl, Türken, Grenzer, Bosniaken: 'Orientalen' in Österreich (-Ungarn); in: Gerhard Höpp (ed.), *Fremde Erfahrungen: Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz bis 1945* (= Studien 4, Berlin, 1996), 319-330, here 323f.

31 Peter Jung (Ill.: Darko Pavlovic), *The Austro-Hungarian Forces in World War I (2)* (= Men-at-Arms 396, Oxford, 2003), 37.

32 Cf. Land Forces of Britain, the Empire and Commonwealth – an historical encyclopedia (http://www.regiments.org/regiments/africaeast/regts/kar.htm: seen on 8 August 2006).

33 Peter Abbott (Ill.: Raffaele Ruggeri), *Armies in East Africa 1914-1918* (= Men-at-Arms 379, Oxford, 2002), 44f and plate D.

34 Christopher Wilkinson-Latham – Jack Cassin-Scott, *Infantry Uniforms* 2 (Poole, Dorset, 1976), 159.

35 Andrew Mollo, *Les Forces Armées de la Dernière Guerre: uniformes, insignes et organisation* (Paris 1981), 148.

36 Laurent Mirouze – Stéphane Dekerle, *Die französische Armee im Ersten Weltkrieg – Ausmarsch 1914*, Vol. 1 (Vienna, 2007), 184ff.

37 Carlos Lorch, *Im bunten Rock (militärisches Zeremoniell in 16 Nationen)* (Stuttgart 1997), 167ff.

38 Louis Delpérier, *'De la Crimée á la Grande Guerre'* (Limoges 1985), 32, 42. During the campaign of 1859 the 2nd and 3rd *Zouave* Regiments distinguished themselves in the Battles of Palestro and Magenta; the similarly uniformed *tireilleurs algériens* fought in the Battles of Turbigo and Robechetto in June 1859.

39 Angelo L. Pirocchi (Ill.: Velimir Vuksic), *Italian Arditi (Elite Assault Troops 1917-1920)* (= Men-at-Arms, Elms Court 2004), 33.

40 In this design the black fez was also worn by the Fascist militia (MVSN – *Milizia Volontaria pro La Sicurezza Nazionale*), who fought on different fronts of the Second World War and by members of the Italian Fascist Youth. Former members of the *Arditi* assault units took part in the occupation of Fiume (Rijeka) by the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio from September 1919 to December 1920. The black fez played an important role in the manifold political and artistic staged mass events over these months. Cf. Liliane and Fred Funcken, *L'uniforme et les armes des soldats de la guerre 1939-1945*, Vol. 2 (Tournai 1973), 114f; Alfred Weidenmann, *Gioventu Italiana del Littorio* (Stuttgart 1940), 28ff.

41 Nicolo Giordano and Claudio Sanchioli, *Il Corpo Forrestale dello Stato – Origini, evoluzione storica e uniforme* (Rome 2002), 168ff and plates 82-85.

42 Some of the better known *zouave* regiments of the USA were the 95th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, the 146th New York City Volunteers (formed in 1863) or the Duryee Zouaves, also from New York. There were also *zouaves* on the Confederate side. Cf. Gregory J.W. Urwin – Darby Erd, *The United States Infantry 1775-1918* (London 1988), 94f; also Christopher J. Daley, Uniform Study: 146th New York (http://www.cjdaley.com/146thNYSV.htm, seen on 12 August 2006).

43 The *Schutztruppe* in the German colonies was formally created in 1891. (*Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt* No. 10 ex 1891, 53ff; cf. Werner Haupt, *Die deutsche Schutztruppe 1889/1918* (Utting, no date), 20f.

44 Reinhard Schneider, *Die kaiserliche Schutz- und Polizeitruppe für Afrika* (Stegen 2005), 62, 89; Georg Ortenburg – Ingo Prömper, *Preussisch-deutsche Uniformen von 1640-1918* (Munich 1991), 188f.

45 Today a Spanish *Regulares* Regiment still exists, which, now consisting of Spanish soldiers, continues to wear the fez in full dress.

46 David Nicole (Ill.: Raffaele Ruggeri, *The Ottoman Army 1914-1918* (= Men-at-Arms, Oxford, 1994), 44.

47 www.textile-welten.de – Online-Lexikon, seen on 8 November 2007.

48 Smail Balić, *Bosnien und der deutschsprachige Kulturraum* (Vienna 1992), 24; Rolf Michaelis, *Die Waffen-SS: Uniformen und Abzeichen* (Berlin 2001), 46.

49 D.S.V.Fosten – R.J. Marrion, *Waffen-SS: its uniforms, insignia and equipment 1938-1945* (London 1971), 26ff.

50 Preben Kannik, *Uniformen in Farbe* (Berlin 1967), 276 and plate 477.

51 Max Hoen, *Geschichte des k.u.k. Infanterie-Regiments Erzherzog Rainer Nr. 59 für den Zeitraum des Weltkrieges 1914/18* (Salzburg 1931), 587; *Unsere Rainer im Weltkrieg 1914/18* (Salzburg 1918), 298.

52 But this would have occurred in the course of a major restructuring of the Bosnian units. As they were especially reliable, only Muslims were to be stationed in Bosnia, whilst the Serbian Orthodox and Catholic soldiers were to be employed in the interior of the monarchy and then *'be issued the same uniform as the rest of the infantry [...]'*. (KA: KM Präs 81-22/2 ex 1913: Anträge auf Stärkung der Stellung der Monarchie in Bosnien-Hercegovina).

Uniforms in Detail

The Fez of the Bosniaks

The fez common in the Ottoman Empire and far beyond was adopted by Austria-Hungary in 1882 as the headdress for troops recruited in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It became the veritable symbol of the Bosniaks, who ensured picturesque variety in the major garrisons of the Danube Monarchy in peacetime and who acquired a legendary reputation as extremely tenacious and reliable soldiers in the First World War in particular.

As of 1882 the dark-red fez was part of the parade and service dress of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry[1] and the Muslim other ranks of the transport detachments stationed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Initially, the fez had been intended for all members of units recruited in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1886, for officers and Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter* this was restricted only for those to of Islamic faith.[2] In 1890 it was prescribed that military personnel (officers, their equivalents and other ranks) of the Islamic faith also had to wear the fez as parade headdress if they were posted to units other than Bosnian-Herzegovinian ones. But such officers and military officials were also authorized to wear the cap instead of the fez.[3]

According to the uniform regulations for the k.u.k. army of 1910, the fez was regulation for military personnel of the Islamic faith and then for cadets and other ranks of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. Officers and *Fähnriche* (or their equivalents) were, however, authorized, even if they were Muslims, to wear the headdress regulation for persons of the same rank in the unit (service) concerned (i.e. the infantry shako as parade dress in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry or the *Jäger* hat in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger*). Thus, non-Muslim *Fähnriche* and officers had to use the headdress regulation in the respective unit (service). According to the organic regulations for the k.u.k. navy of 1913, navy personnel of the Islamic faith were also allowed to wear the fez instead of the sailors' cap.[4]

The fez had the shape of a flattened cone slightly tapering towards the top. It was made of sheep's wool yarn and milled. The dark-red fez introduced in 1882 had a dark-blue tassel. For other ranks it was made of sheep's wool and for officers and officer candidates of silk.

The reddish-brown fez introduced in 1892 only differed in the shade of colour from the dark-red one and was to be 13 cm high. In 1903 alone army administration ordered 8,500 fezzes from the *Actien Gesellschaft der österreichischen Fez Fabriken* (Corporation of Austrian Fez Manufacturing) in Vienna, 4,000 of which were to be supplied to Uniform Depot No. 2 in Budapest, 3,000 to Uniform Depot No. 3 in Graz and 1,500 to the uniform depot Nr. 4 in Kaiser-Ebersdorf.[5]

When the pike-grey uniform was introduced in 1908, the fez initially remained reddish-brown and it was only in 1910 that pike-grey headgear was issued for marching uniform.[6] But the reddish-brown fez remained for parade and walking out dress.

According to information from the uniform regulations of 1910, the fez (this applies to both the reddish-brown and the pike-grey ones) was manufactured in four sizes, between head size 51.5 cm and 60 cm. The tassel colour of the reddish-brown fez was black and that of the pike-grey fez pike-grey. For other ranks the tassel material was wool and for officer candidates, officers and imams of silk. The tassel consisted of fringes attached to a rosette that were 18.5 cm long in the case of the reddish-brown fez. A woollen thread was pulled through the middle of the rosette and attached to a covered wooden ring, forming a loop on the outside. The 4-cm-long and 7-mm-thick piece of felt projecting from the top was pulled through this, also placed into a loop and then sewn on. The fringes were to be attached 1.5 cm under the top to a width of 8 cm, but this frequently seems not to have been the case. Normally the fez had no sweatband, but there were privately purchased items with one, usually of thin brown sheepskin.

The pike-grey fez always had to be worn in the field and with marching dress in peacetime. On other external duties and exercises (with the exception of parades) it was allowed to use it. On all other occasions and off duty the reddish-brown fez remained in use. The fez was to be worn in such a way that the tassel dangled at the back, but this did not prevent the fez from being worn with the tassels deliberately to the front, particularly in walking out dress, as this was felt to be 'chic'. There were many different ways of wearing the fez: pushed in or out at the top, fringes dangling to the front instead of to the back etc. There were (evidently privately purchased) variants of the fez of differing heights, very conical or almost cylindrical, with fringes of differing thicknesses and of varying material – sometimes even with a neck flap, as on the field cap, which was fastened by two small tunic buttons at the front.

Instead of the cap, Muslim other ranks of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina wore a 13-cm-high dark-red fez, to which the gilt Imperial monogram made of pressed tombac was attached at the front. The emblem was 3.5 cm high and 4.5 cm wide. But in shape and size the fez was in keeping with the one for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry, but it was made of finer material and the tassel for other ranks was also of black silk. In length it had to be on a level with the bottom edge (the head opening).[7] After 1910 the field dress of the gendarmes included a pike-grey fez, which also had the gilt Imperial monogram. At the front left both patterns of fez had thread loops for attaching the field sign.

Archives FR

Members of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in different uniforms. With the dark-red fez they are wearing either the tunic or the blouse together with different types of trousers or breeches.

As of September 1915 pike-grey uniform items were replaced by field-grey ones.[8] This also affected the fez, which retained its shape and continued to be made of sheep's wool felt. The thread loops for attaching the field sign on the left and the tassel were now also manufactured in field-grey.

No special insignia, apart from field sign on parade and the special emblem of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina, was worn on the fez until into the First World War. It was only during the First World War that it became common to attach different cap badges and sometimes even the rosettes of the normal field cap.

Contrary to regulations, the fez was also frequently worn by non-Muslim officers of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. The fez was offered in different variants by various manufacturers.

1 VOBl. f.d. k.k. Heer Jg.1882; ZVO of 18 May 1882, Praes.-No. 2883.

2 NVOBl. f.d. k.k. Armee, Jg. 1886; ZVO of 8. March 1886, Praes.-No. 885.

3 Decree Abt. 13 No. 1725 of 16 June 1890.

4 Lothar Baumgartner, Dieter Winkler: Flottenrock und Kaiseradler; Vienna 2004, 116.

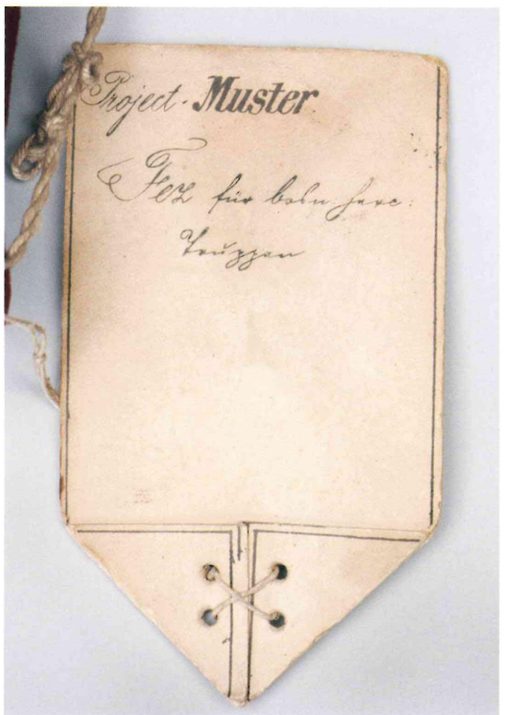
5 KA: KM 13.Abt. ex 1903; A.13 No. 9–118.

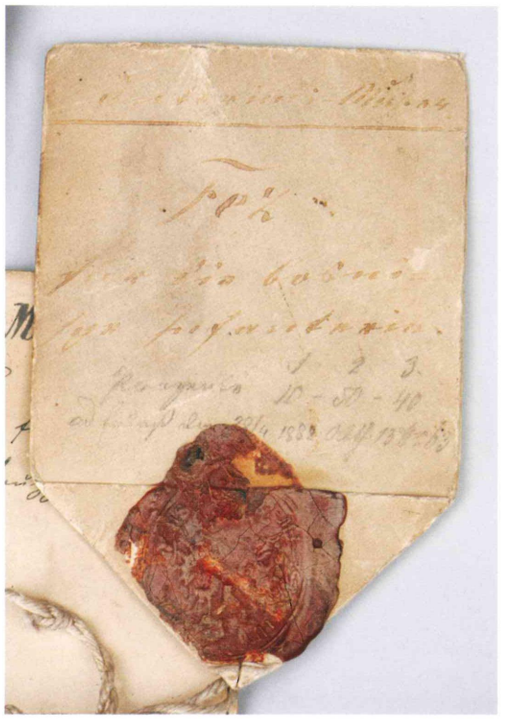
6 VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer Jg. 1910; NVO 20. Stk. No.102.

7 Annex No. 40 to VOBl. tor the k.k. Landwehr, zu Präs.-No. 4333 of 1906, 3 and uniform regulations for the k.u.k. army, Part V, Vienna 1911, 48.

8 VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer Jg.1915; ZVO of 13 September 1915, Abt.13 No.51.978.

Dark-Red Fez – The dark-red fez was both field and parade headdress. It was introduced for Bosnian-Herzegovinian units of the Austro-Hungarian army in 1882. According to regulations, there were two silk loops in the colour of the fez above the left temple for attaching the field sign, which are, however, missing on this sample from the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum in Vienna. (HGM)





Archives FR

The group photograph shows members of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in light-blue uniform with the dark-red fez. Until 1894 instructors wore the uniforms of their respective parent units. In the centre a *Gefreiter* of a medical unit can be seen in the dark-green blouse introduced until 1908. Standing in the back row are dragoons and an infantryman of the k.(u.)k. army.

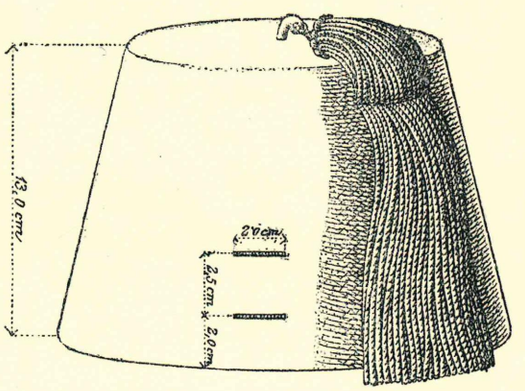
Archives JS

***Gefreiter* of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian military band with the lyre on his stand-up collar. He is wearing a strikingly high fez.**

Reddish-Brown Fez – The difference in colour between the reddish-brown fez and the dark-red one was not very striking, but the tassel was black instead of dark-blue. The twine loops for attaching the field sign are clearly visible. No insignia was worn on the reddish-brown fez. (HGM)

Der **Fez** ist aus Schafwollgarn gewirkt und gewalkt. Die aus Schafwolle erzeugte Quaste besteht aus 18,5 *cm* langen, an einer Rosette angebrachten Fransen. In der Mitte der Rosette ist ein Wollfaden durchgezogen, der innen an einem übersponnenen Holzring befestigt ist, außen eine Schlinge bildet; durch diese ist das aus dem Deckel ragende 4 *cm* lange, 7 *mm* dicke Filzstück gesteckt, das gleichfalls zu einer Schlinge umgelegt und dann angenäht ist. Die Fransen sind 1,5 *cm* unter dem Deckel in der Breite von 8 *cm* an dem Fez befestigt. Links davon sind für das Feldzeichen Schlingen aus Seide von der Farbe des Fez.

Beim rotbraunen Fez ist die Quaste schwarz, beim hechtgrauen hechtgrau.



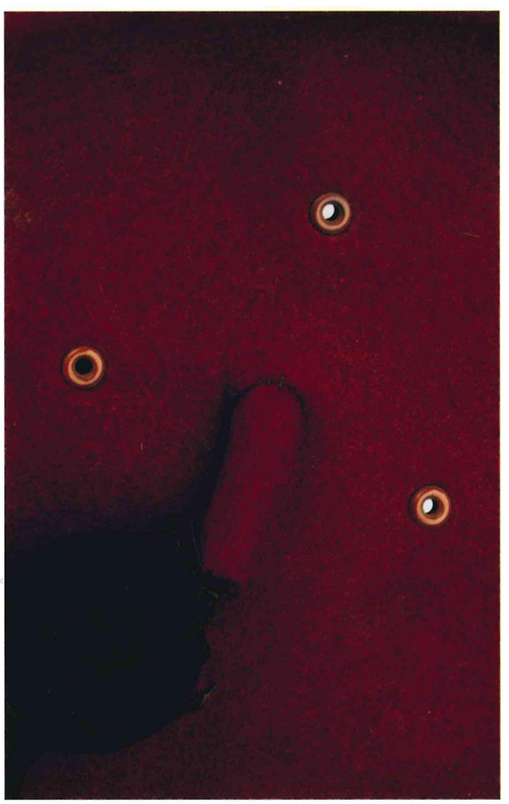
Graphic presentation of the fez from the uniform regulations for the k.u.k. army of 1910.

The variety of headdress on this contemporary black and white photograph could hardly be greater. The Bosniaks are wearing the most varied types of fez, dark-red or reddish-brown or pike-grey ones. The uniforms are also completely different. The fez was partly reduced to a low, cone-shaped form of headdress.

Archives UAM

Archives CN

One-year volunteer *Korporal* with a dark-red fez. On his right wrist he is wearing a pocket watch that has been converted to a 'modern' wristwatch by a leather strap.



Privately Purchased Fez of Fine Felt (Presumably for an Officer) – On the inside the fez was lined with white silk and fitted with a brown leather sweatband. To improve ventilation, it was provided with eyelets. The lining bears the marking of the Viennese manufacturer Schlick. (UAM)

Privately Purchased Dark-Red Fez – It is made of fine felt in a deluxe version with silk lining and a sweatband of exquisite brown sheepskin. The tassel is made of twisted black silk cords. The fez was more than merely headdress. Before the outbreak of the First World War it had already become the oriental symbol of Bosnian units. (HGM)

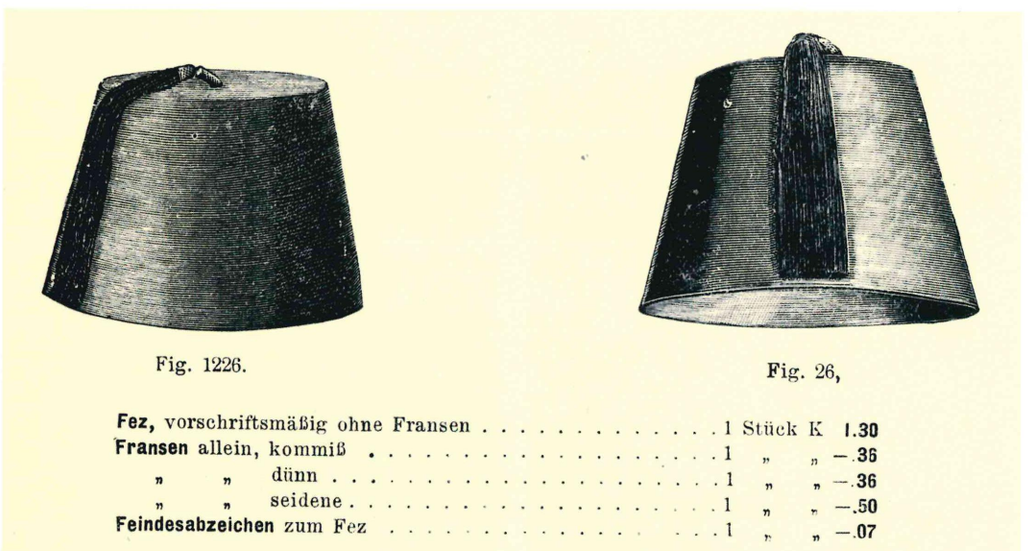


Fig. 1226. Fig. 26,

Fez, vorschriftsmäßig ohne Fransen	1 Stück	K	**1.30**
Fransen allein, kommiß	1 „	„	**—.36**
„ „ dünn	1 „	„	**—.36**
„ „ seidene	1 „	„	**—.50**
Feindesabzeichen zum Fez	1 „	„	**—.07**

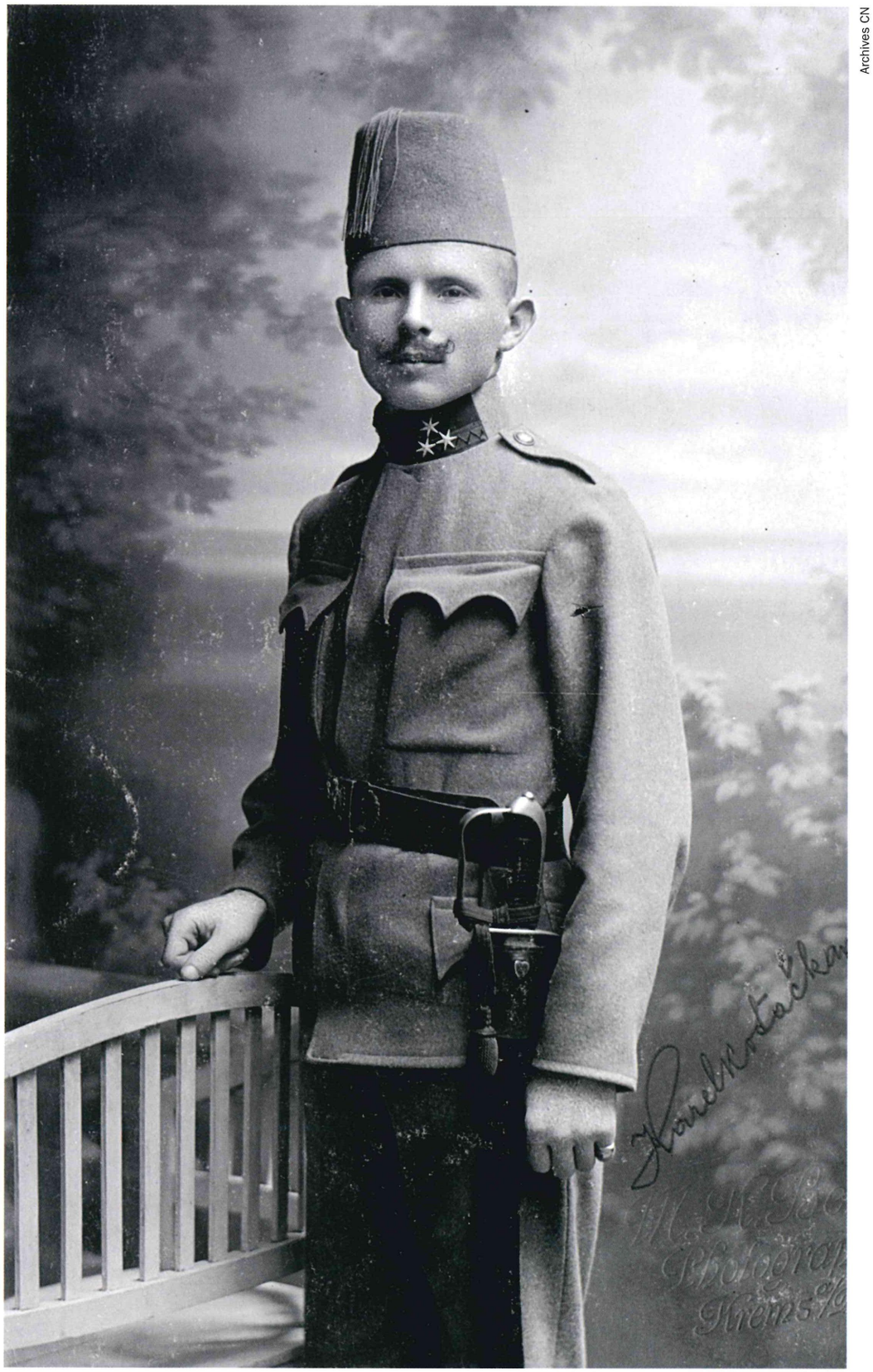
Excerpt from the catalogue of the military suppliers Max Schall & Sohn of 1907, offering different versions of the fez.

Fez for Other Ranks of the Gendarmerie Corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina – Other ranks of the Islamic faith of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina wore a dark-red fez, to the front of which an Imperial monogram 'FJ1' (Franz Joseph I) pressed of gilt tombac was attached. In shape and dimensions the fez was in keeping with that for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry, but made of finer material, according to regulations. For other ranks the tassel is also made of black silk. The stamp on the inside is probably a no longer legible manufacturer's mark. (private collection)

Archives WA

The fez with the emblem prescribed for the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina was evidently also worn by district mayors and 'Pandurs' taken over by the gendarmerie from Turkish service.

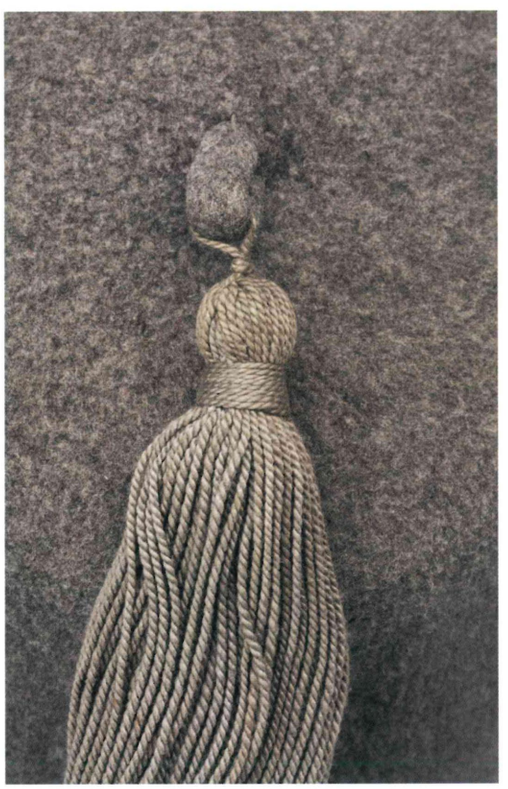
Pike-Grey Fez – The pike-grey fez with a grey tassel was introduced in the Austro-Hungarian army in 1910. The loops for attaching the field sign were also made of pike-grey twine. Its relatively light colour led to the fez quickly becoming dirty. Army items were made of dyed wool and then milled, so that they were given a matted, water-repellent surface. (HGM)



Archives CN

Feldwebel **of the k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in pike-grey uniform with fez. The grey fringes hardly stand out from the pike-grey fez. He is wearing the M 1862 infantry sabre with the Imperial-yellow, black-ribbed infantry sword knot.**

Field-Grey Fez – After September 1915 pike-grey uniforms were replaced by field-grey ones. On the inside the field-grey fez illustrated shows markings that unclearly indicate inspection by Uniform Depot No. 4 (MD. 4 – Vienna/ Kaiser-Ebersdorf) in 1916. The white stamp must have indicated the size. (HGM)



Archives ZIK

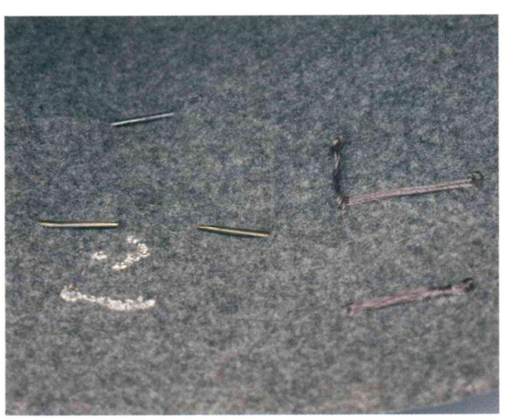
Group photograph of Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantrymen with the field-grey fez in field dress. Some of them are wearing light strips of cloth on the fez. These were usually worn on the rear, so as to improve identification for friendly observers when on the attack.

Archives VM

Archives VM

Archives VM

Different presentations of Bosniaks of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 with the field-grey fez.



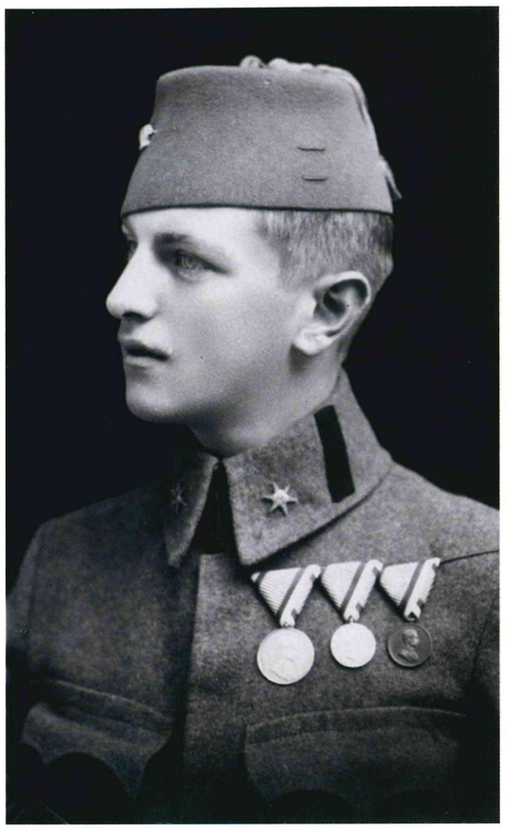
Field-grey Fez from the Estate of *Oberst* August Kotik – From August 1918 until the end of the war Kotik was commander of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 7, formed in 1916. The fez, which was his personal property, has the officers' rosette and the cap badges of b.h. IR. Nos. 3 and 7 attached. (private collection)

Archives SIS

August Kotik, here as a *Major* of the k.u.k. infantry. In 1912 he was *Hauptmann* in the Bohemian Infantry Regiment '*Freiherr von Teuchert-Kauffmann*' No. 88. On 1st November 1914 he was promoted to *Major* and made commander of the 2nd battalion in the k.u.k. (Hungarian-Croatian) Infantry Regiment 'Viktor Freiherr von Dankl' No. 53. On 1st September 1915 he was promoted to Oberstleutnant and appears as such in the rank lists of IR. 53 in 1915 and 1916. Finally in 1918, he took over the command of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 7.

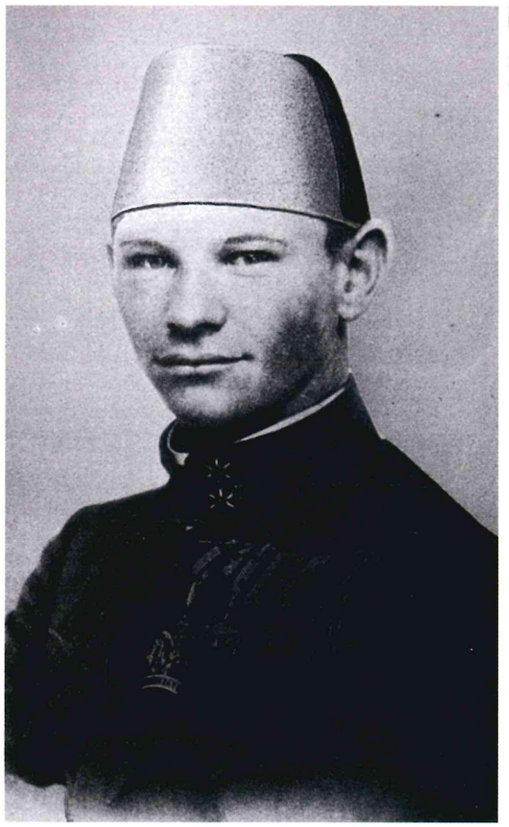
Identity capsule from the estate of *Oberstleutnant* (later *Oberst*) August Kotik. As the predecessors of today's identity discs they contained information on the person of their wearers, e.g. date of birth, rank, year of conscription, responsibility at home or the address of the person to be notified in the case of death. Versions for officers of the Austro-Hungarian army were usually made of gilt tombac and had the Imperial monogram as a decoration on the lid.

Archives JR



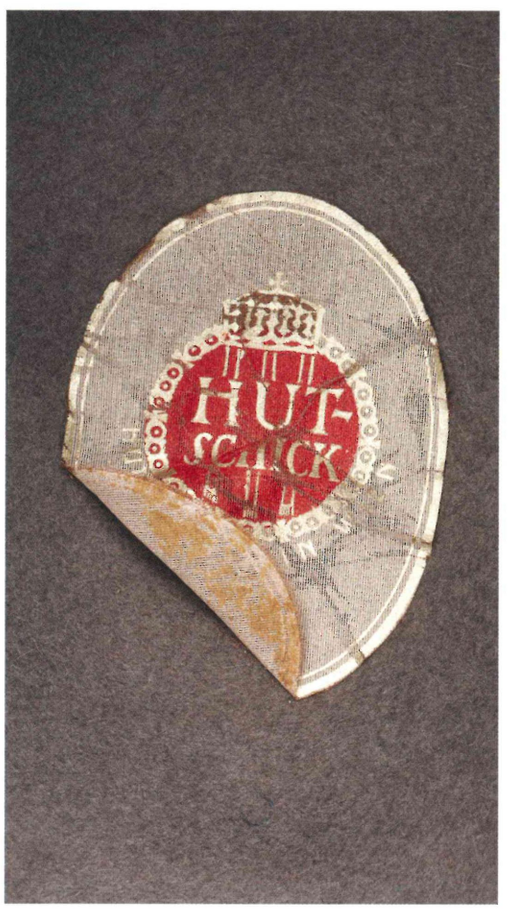
***Leutnant* of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian unit in M 1916 field-grey blouse (with a folding-down collar) and field-grey fez. He is wearing the Large Silver, the Small Silver and the Bronze Medals for Bravery.**

Field-Grey Fez (Variant) – There were the most varied versions of the field-grey fez. The pictures here show a low variant of an army item. The bottom loop for the field sign is noticeably shorter than the top one. On the inside the fez is stamped with 'MD. 5' and '1917' (Uniform Depot No. 5, set up at Brunn am Gebirge in 1917). (HGM)



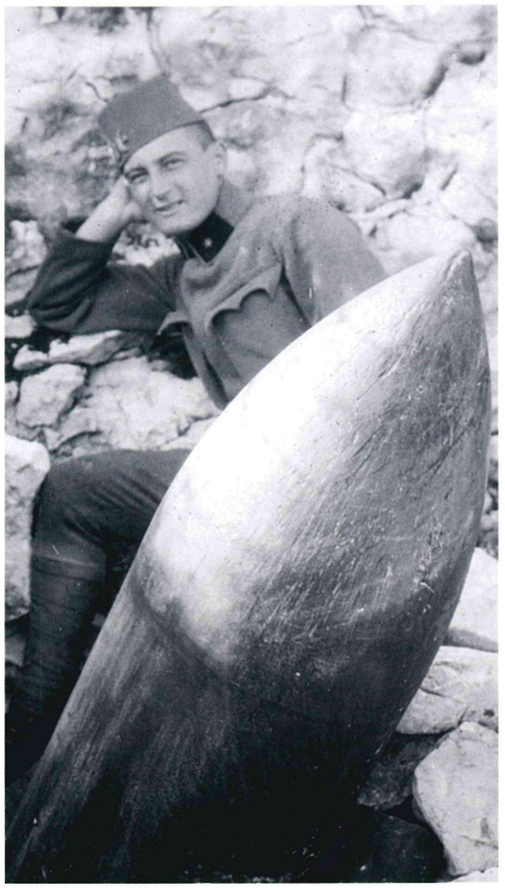
Archives ZIK

Reserve *Oberleutnant* Edmund Edelsbrunner of k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. He is wearing a field-grey fez with a dark tassel. His unusually numerous decorations include the Imperial Austrian Order of the Iron Crown 3rd Class, the Military Merit Cross with War Decoration and the German Iron Cross 2nd Class.

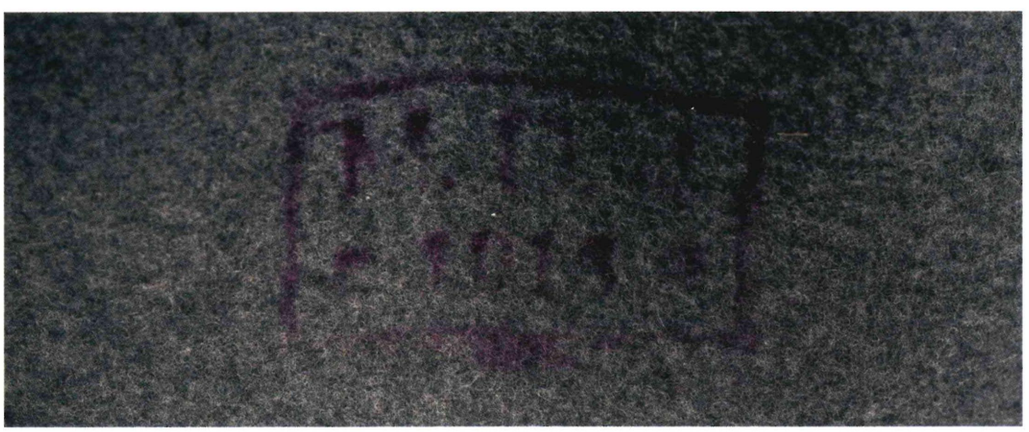


Privately Purchased (Field-)Grey Fez – The elaborately manufactured fez of fine needle felt has a non-regulation black silk tassel. A label of the firm of Schick is attached to the inside. As officers had to purchase their items of uniform themselves, personal preferences like the black tassel on the grey fez were not unusual. In the case of this specimen it cannot be excluded that it was manufactured after the war and worn by a veteran at a veterans' re-union. (ZIK)

Archives ZIK



***Leutnant* with a field-grey fez and the cap badge shown on the right on the Isonzo front.**



Field-Grey Fez with Badge – It was only during the First World War that it became customary to attach different cap badges. Attaching cap rosettes and especially a large variety of cap badges offered a wide range of individual and non-regulation forms of expression. The field-grey fez illustrated, from the Army Museum in Budapest, shows the badge of k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3, which is here attached to the loops for the field sign. It was made of a silver-grey alloy. Between the crescent and the six-pointed star there is a bar with the regimental designation 'BH 3'. On the inside the fez is stamped with 'M.D.4' (Uniform Depot No. 4) and an illegible date (1915 or 1916). (UAM)

Archives VM

Presentation of the commander of k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3, *Oberst* Ernst Ritter v. Meissl with a cap badge on his fez, 1917.

Archives ZIK

Members of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 with the characteristic cap badge on the fez.

Archives VM

Posed photograph of an arrest. The *Korporal* in the foreground is wearing long stockings with his breeches and a strangely shaped fez (possibly a privately purchased item with a neck flap like that on the field cap).

Archives ZIK

Archives ZIK

Badge of the 11th k.u.k. Infantry Brigade – It shows the inscriptions of the k.u.k. Styrian Infantry Regiment '*Leopold III. König der Belgier*' No. 27, as well as the k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 which was stationed in Graz for a long time.

Archives JR

These contemporary pictures of wartime life in Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 show how differently cap badges were attached to the fez. The officer (top picture, second from left with dog) is wearing the 'common' cap badge of the infantry brigade No. 11 which comprised the IR. No. 27 and b.h. IR. No. 2.

Officers' Cap

The characteristic feature of the k.u.k. officer was the stiff, black officers' cap. Its shape was prescribed exactly, but there were countless variants, differing in design, height, position of the peak and other details. Until 1908 also stipulated for field duty, it was then worn on garrison duty and off duty. Muslim officers of the k.u.k. infantry and *Feldjäger* were authorized to use the fez instead.

The cap was made of black cloth and approximately cylindrical in shape. In the 1890s it had a squat shape like the shako. Following fashions, its shape became higher and higher until it became lower again towards the end of the First World War. The uniform regulations of 1910 stipulated that the cap was to be 10 cm high at the front centre and 13 to 14 cm high at the back centre. The bottom edge was bordered by a gold and black interwoven square cord, 8 mm wide. The loop running around the front of the cap between the buckle of the chin strap and the rosette was made of the same cord. The black patent leather chin strap was 2 cm wide and had a single-pronged gilt buckle in the centre. It was fastened on the sides by a small tunic button. The rosette of gold bullion had a diameter of 3 cm and its black centre field showed the Imperial monogram embroidered in gold. The patent leather peak (in later production made of black impregnated pressed cardboard) was bordered by fine, black calfskin on the outside.

For bandleaders the cord, loop and rosettes were silver instead of gold and red instead of black. For *Fähnriche* (and their equivalents) the cord, loop and rosettes were of Imperial-yellow silk instead of gold.[1]

For attaching the chinstrap, the officers' cap of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry had a button on the sides and to attach the cap loop there was another small gilt button with the embossed regimental number. By contrast, the side buttons on the caps of Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* officers were gilt and smooth. Instead of the button for fastening the cap loop, at the front they had a small gilt horn emblem with the silver-plated double eagle in the opening. The officers' caps of k.u.k. border units were similar, except that on the left they had a socket of cap cloth for attaching the plume.[2] The black caps of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian stud corps had 'yellow' smooth buttons at the sides and front. Bosnian-Herzegovinian military officials in turn had caps like those of the officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry (i.e. with the numbers corresponding to their recruiting districts on the buttons), but with the k.k. double eagle on the rosette instead of the Imperial monogram.[3]

1 Uniform regulations for the k.u.k. Army, Part I, Vienna 1910, 121.

2 NVOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer, Jg. 1914; annex to Abt.13, No.2282/14, 6.

3 Uniform regulations for the k.u.k. Army, Part VII, Vienna 1911, 11.

Archives VM

Officer of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger*, around 1917. The hunting horn emblem shows the silver-plated double eagle and the Imperial monogram 'K' for Emperor Karl on the cap rosette.

Black Officers' Cap – The black officers' cap manufactured by the court supplier Alexander Sohr belonged to an officer of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4. This cap is not provided with true gold fittings, but with cheaper imitation gilt and for this reason both the rosette and the loop and parts of the black-ribbed cord running round the head opening have become grey. In principle, the cap was fitted the same way for all officers' ranks. *Fähnriche* had the cap rosette and the cord in Imperial-yellow silk instead of gold web. (HGM)

Field Cap

With the exception of Muslims, officers of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units had to wear the headgear regulation in the respective unit (infantry, *Jäger* etc.). When the pike-grey field uniform was introduced in 1908, officers were issued a pike-grey field cap instead of the black officers' cap for marching dress. It was a cap like the other ranks' field cap worn in the k.u.k. army after 1871, with a black leather peak and the rosette embroidered in gold at the front for officers. The edge of the peak on officers' caps was bordered by thin black leather. The neck flap (which might only be imitated, left out to save on weight and only simulated by decorative seams) was held together at the front by two small tunic buttons placed above each other. The loops for attaching the field sign on the left were made of gold threads. Caps for officers and Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter*[1] of *Jäger* units had a small horn emblem under the rosette, showing the double eagle in the opening in the case of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* (and the k.u.k. border units after 1914). For Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter* (or *Fähnriche*) the rosettes and loops for attaching the field sign were made of Imperial-yellow silk.[2]
During the First World War peakless field caps like those in the cavalry came into use. A decree of 1917 regulated their use in formations in the rear.[3] Caps of this type were sometimes used by non-Muslim officers and officer candidates of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units.

1 Following the decree of 15 November 1908 they were given the designation '*Fähnrich*'.

2 VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer, Jg. 1908; ZVO of 7 October 1908, Abt. 13 No.545.

3 VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer, Jg. 1917; decree No.5315 of 24 April 1917; Abt.13 No.5955.

Archives ZIK

A *Leutnant* (right) in k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 is wearing a peakless field cap with gold-embroidered rosette. The collar badge for the machine gun corps is also visible in the picture (behind the rank stars of the *Leutnant*). It was introduced in 1915 and shows a stylized fire-breathing dragon, surmounted by the Imperial crown.

Archives VM

***Hauptmann* Fiedler of Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2, around 1916/17. On the cap above the button the hunting horn emblem is visible (during the war usually painted dull grey). The metal letters 'BJ2' attached to the sides are not completely in keeping with regulations (correct would be 'bhJ2').**

Tunic

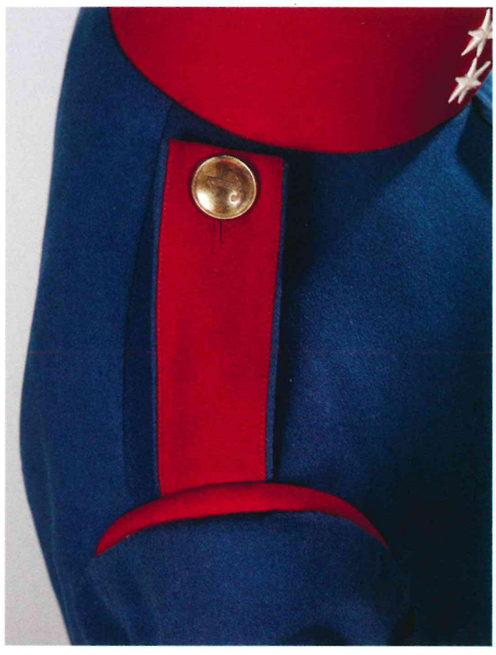
In principle, the tunic was intended for parade dress and was also used with walking out dress. The shortage of uniforms that appeared in the course of mobilization in 1914 led to tunics also being issued to replacement units training in the rear.

The tunic of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry was made of light-blue cloth and the tunic of the *Feldjäger* of pike-grey fabric. It was fastened at the front by a row of 6 'yellow' (brass plate) buttons embossed with the regimental number. The top button was 1.5 cm away from the collar and the bottom in the waist seam; their distance from each other depended on the size of the tunic. Such buttons were also placed on the shoulder-straps and the waist seam at the back. Other ranks' tunics were lined with canvas in the body and the sleeves and with calico in the skirts.[1] The collar, shoulder-straps, shoulder pads and cuffs were piped in distinguishing colour (alizarin-red for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry, grass-green for the *Feldjäger*). Unlike other ranks' tunics, those for officers had neither shoulder-straps nor shoulder pads. The outer edges of the tunic were piped in the distinguishing colour, i.e. alizarin-red. The colour of the rank pips of company officers (*Leutnant* to *Hauptmann*) followed the button colour, as did the colour of the braid for field-grade officers, whose rank pips then had the complementary metal colour. Correspondingly, company officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry and *Feldjäger* had gold pips and field-grade officers gold braid and silver pips on it. From the waist downwards the back of the tunic had two piped scalloped pocket flaps with three tunic buttons each. The buttons on officers' tunics were gilt.

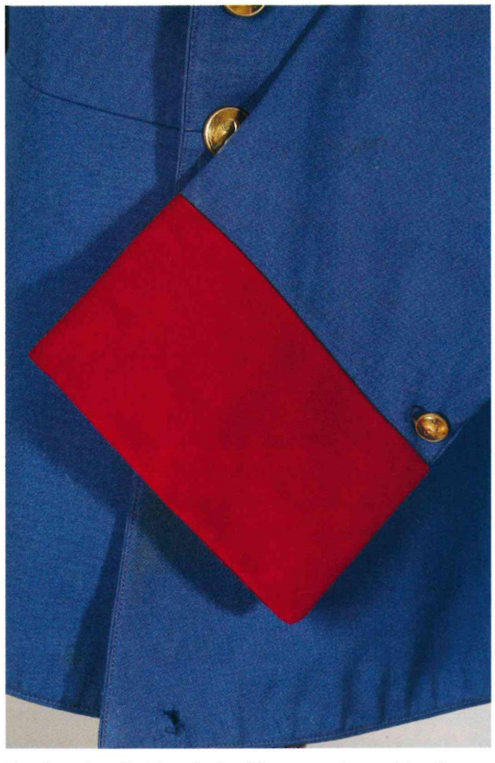
Archives CN

***Gefreiter* in light-blue field blouse (left) and infantryman in a light-blue tunic (right, in parade uniform).**

1 Uniform regulations for the k.u.k. Army, Part I, Vienna 1910, 45.



Tunic of a One-Year Volunteer *Korporal* – The privately purchased tunic belonged to a one-year volunteer *Korporal* of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3. It shows two white thread stars as rank insignia (stars cut out of white cloth or pressed of celluloid after 1901 would have been regulation) on the alizarin-red collar. The yellow braid with a black central stripe above the cuffs is the insignia of 'one-year volunteers'. They were school leavers (or persons with similar education) intending to undergo reserve officers' training. The first wartime employment of such reserve officers was during the occupation campaign of 1878 and this institution, which had only been established in 1868, proved to be a success. (HGM)

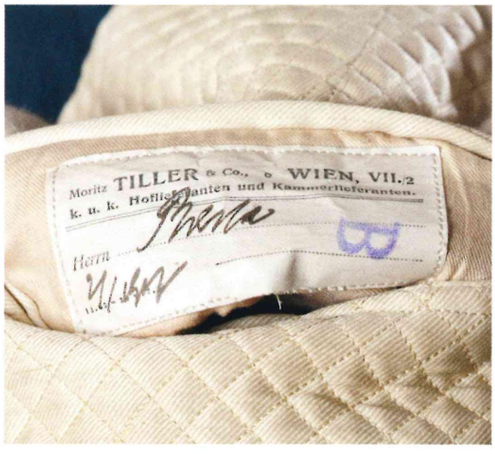


Tunic of a *Feldwebel* – The numbered buttons show the origin of the tunic in Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. Apart from the rank braid of patterned Imperial-yellow sheeps' wool, three white stars are sewn to each end of the collar. The shoulder-straps helped to fasten the webbing and the shoulder pads were intended to prevent the rifle sling from slipping off on the march. There is a small yellow numbered button above the cuffs. Hooks were sewn to the inside front for fastening the collar. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 was garrisoned in Graz for many years. The tunic illustrated here was evidently privately purchased. It derives from the Graz branch of the established uniform tailor Moritz Tiller. Army-issued items were made of coarser cloth and had a linen lining that usually showed the stamps of the uniform depot and the unit. (ZIK)

Archives MCO

***Korporal* of the band of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiment in parade uniform.**

Tunic for a One-Year Volunteer Officer Candidate *Feldwebel* – Officer candidates privately purchased uniforms of better quality such as this tunic of light-blue worsted yarn that was worn in Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. The rank stars are embroidered of fine white thread and the rank braid is of Imperial-yellow silk. In addition to the cuff braid the tunic shows the 'one-year volunteer button' only introduced in 1915. The tunic is lined with quilted anthracite-coloured silk. The buckle attached to the inside of the waist was to provide a better fit. (ZIK)

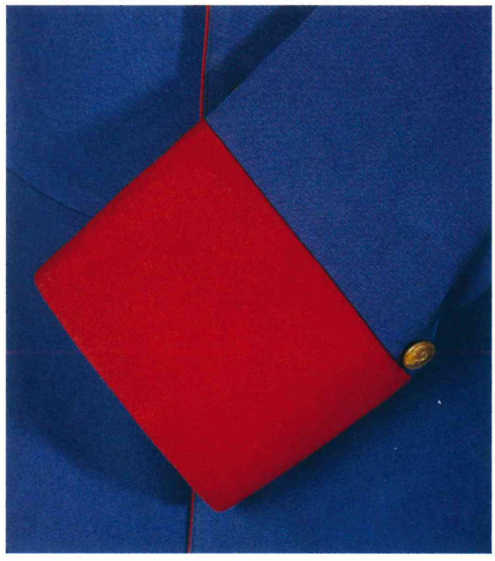


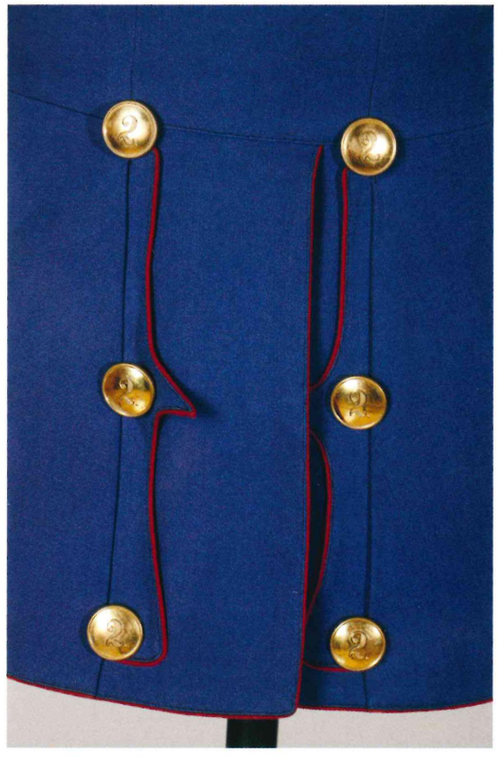
Tunic for a *Leutnant* of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 – The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 was garrisoned in Vienna for many years. Officers always had to buy their items of uniform themselves. This tunic was manufactured by the k.u.k. court supplier Moritz Tiller. There is a name tag in the top left breast pocket. (HGM)

Archives HGM

***Oberleutnant* of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3. With the light-blue tunic the officer is wearing grey-blue drawing room trousers with red piping.**

Tunic for a *Leutnant* of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 – The light-blue tunic of a noticeably light shade is provided with quilted lining of black silk. A breast pocket is inserted in the top left chest section on the level of the second button from the top. The regiment was garrisoned in Budapest for a time. (HGM)

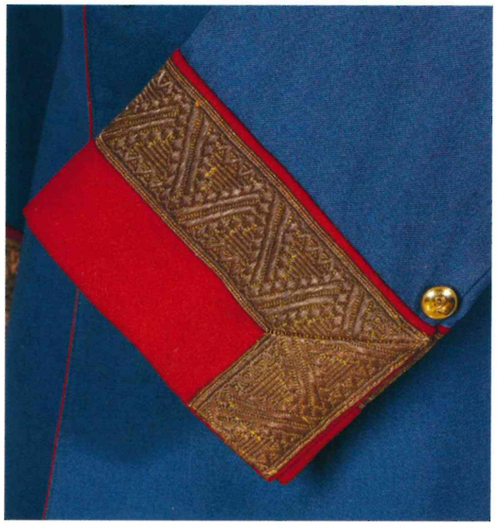




Tunic for a *Hauptmann* of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 – On both sides of the collar the tunic of fine, light-blue cloth shows the three gold-embroidered rank stars identifying a *Hauptmann*. The tunic is lined with light-beige cotton and was manufactured by the Graz tailor Michael Kaučič. (ZIK)

Tunic for a *Hauptmann* of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 – The tunic was made of light-blue worsted yarn. From the top button to the shoulder seam on the left thread loops are sewn on for attaching the ribbons of decorations. The tunic manufactured by the Viennese uniform tailor Alexander Sohr has light-beige lining. (HGM)

Tunic for a *Hauptmann* attached to the General Staff – Attachment to the general staff often meant the beginning of a higher military career. It had the purpose of testing aptitude for acceptance in the general staff. An officer attached to the general staff wore, as in this case a member of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2, the uniform of his parent unit with the special distinction of a field sash worn over the right shoulder. It was worn *en echarpe* in its entire width from the right shoulder to the left hip. To prevent the field sash from slipping off, a loop of simple, mottled gold and black, 5-mm-wide square cord was fastened next to the collar by a small tunic button. (HGM)



Tunic for a *Major* of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 – On the cuffs and the tunic collar all field-grade officers (*Major*, *Oberstleutnant*, *Oberst*) wore 3.3-cm-wide, patterned metal braid. The colour of the braid had to be in keeping with the button colour (silver or gold). The rank stars had the alternating metal colour, i.e. here silver. Behind the rank star the embroidered officers' version of the 'automobile badge' can be seen. It was introduced in 1909 and represented a symbolic winged steering wheel. For field-grade officers it was embroidered in gold and for company officers in silver. But for other ranks it was made of nickel silver and silver-plated. The automobile badge was to be worn by officers of the automobile test detachment and automobile cadre, automobile officers of territorial headquarters and the respective other ranks. (private collection)

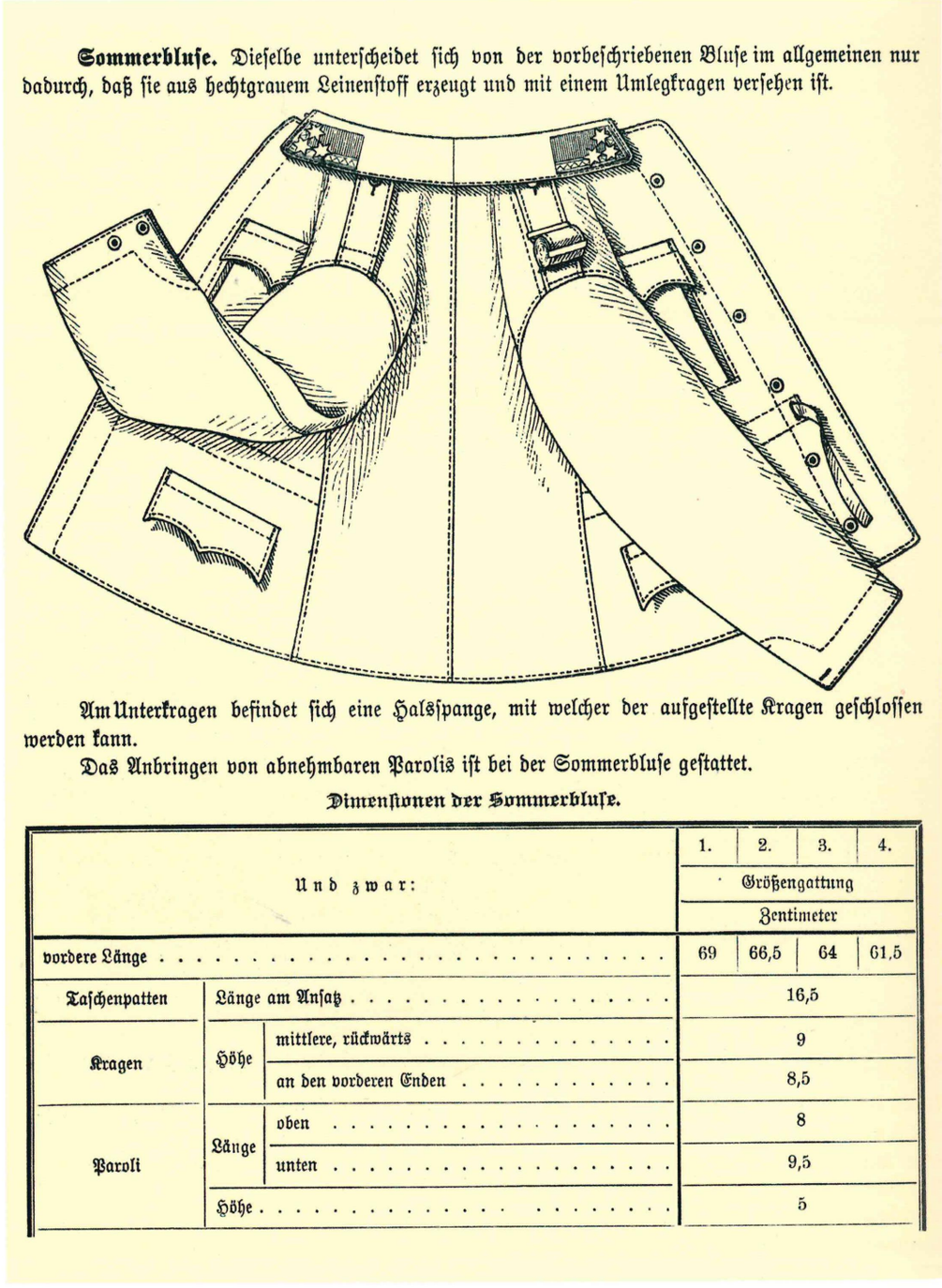
Tunic for an Officer in the War Ministry being Dissolved in 1919 – The tunic of a field-grade officer of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 attached to the general staff (cf. shoulder loop on the right shoulder) was evidently worn by an officer in the War Ministry being dissolved after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The rank stars have been removed and replaced by the stylized coat of arms of the Republic of Austria, a single-headed eagle of yellow metal with a shield on its breast. The appearance of this state coat of arms was laid down by a law of 8 May 1919. The tunic made of light-blue worsted yarn has piping of alizarin-red worsted yarn instead of distinguishing cloth on the collar and cuffs. The tunic was manufactured by the Vienna garrison tailor Johann Stiegrad. (HGM)

Blouse

Since the major army reforms of 1868 the blouse had been characteristic of the field uniform and everyday dress of Austro-Hungarian soldiers. When the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry was formed in 1882, they were initially issued light-blue blouses and pike-grey ones after 1908. Other units formed in Bosnia-Herzegovina were also issued blouses, *Jäger* pike-grey ones in 1903 and transport soldiers and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian stud corps dark-brown ones and the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina dark-green ones.

The introduction of the pike-grey field uniform in 1908 meant a large degree of standardization in the external appearance of the k.u.k army. The distinguishing colour only appeared in the piping. The sleeves of the woollen blouse could be unbuttoned. Unlike earlier patterns (e.g. the light-blue blouse), the (field) blouses introduced in 1908 had more spacious breast pockets. A shoulder roll could be buttoned to the right shoulder-strap to prevent the rifle strap from slipping off. In 1909 a pike-grey linen blouse was introduced for the warm months of the year.[1]
From September 1915 on pike-grey items of uniform were replaced by field-grey ones. The cut was not initially changed, so that the first field-grey blouses retained the low stand-up collar and the breast pockets.
The requirements of the war necessitated rationalization and expediency. In 1916 a field-grey 'universal uniform' was stipulated: a blouse with a folding collar, to which only narrow strips of cloth in the distinguishing colour were sewn instead of square collar tabs, so as to economize on distinguishing cloth.

[1] VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer, JG. 1909; 23. Stk. No. 126.



Sommerbluse. Dieselbe unterscheidet sich von der vorbeschriebenen Bluse im allgemeinen nur dadurch, daß sie aus hechtgrauem Leinenstoff erzeugt und mit einem Umlegkragen versehen ist.

Am Unterkragen befindet sich eine Halsspange, mit welcher der aufgestellte Kragen geschlossen werden kann.

Das Anbringen von abnehmbaren Parolis ist bei der Sommerbluse gestattet.

Dimensionen der Sommerbluse.

Und zwar:			1.	2.	3.	4.
			Größengattung			
			Zentimeter			
vordere Länge			69	66,5	64	61,5
Taschenpatten	Länge am Ansatz		16,5			
Kragen	Höhe	mittlere, rückwärts	9			
		an den vorderen Enden	8,5			
Paroli	Länge	oben	8			
		unten	9,5			
	Höhe		5			

Summer blouse of pike-grey linen. Illustration from the uniform regulations for the k.u.k. army, 1910.

Archives VM

Archives StS

Two infantrymen. On the right a Bosnian-Herzegovinian one-year volunteer officer candidate washing items of uniform. His fez seems to be of a lower form, contrary to regulations.

Pike-Grey Blouse for Other Ranks 1908 – Unlike the inserted breast pockets of earlier light-blue blouses, the pike-grey blouse now had more practical pockets with flaps. The alizarin-red piping is only on the collar. When the pike-grey field uniform was introduced, natural brown leather equipment was prescribed instead of black. The otherwise black bayonet scabbard was painted olive-brown during the First World War. The haversack was made of brown flax canvas. (HGM)

Squad of Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in pike-grey field uniform and fezzes of the same colour on the Lovčen in 1915. After 1915 the rucksack replaced the expensive field pack.

Archives VM

Pike-Grey Blouse for a *Hauptmann* – A tailor in Budapest manufactured this blouse of pike-grey worsted yarn with alizarin-red piping and the six-pointed rank stars embroidered in gold. The blouse is fastened at the front by seven brownish horn buttons. The covered button tapes were intended to prevent the blouse from becoming caught in branches or stones. The scalloped breast pockets allowed useful items such as sketch books to be carried, which had to be at hand quickly. (HGM)

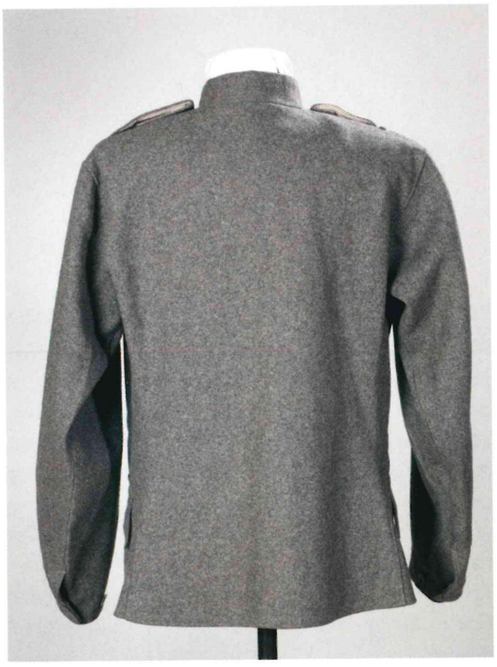
Archives HGM

This group photograph taken after 1910 shows members of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry, partly still in the light-blue blouse (darker colour, inserted breast pockets), partly in pike-grey blouses (lighter colour, scalloped breast pockets). Some of the men are wearing the pike-grey, others the reddish-brown fez. The officer in the centre of the picture has the black officers' cap, the *Feldwebel* left of him the pike-grey field cap introduced in 1908.

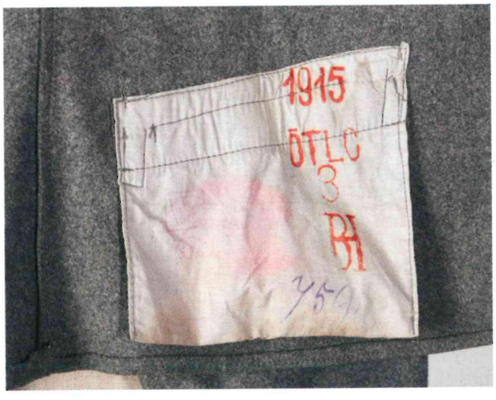
Pike-Grey Blouse for a *Fähnrich* of the k.u.k. Border Troops – The border troops were issued their own uniform in 1914, the most striking features of which were the plume on the cap and the collar insignia. The latter showed a single-headed eagle ascending from a rock. For officer candidates and other ranks the insignia was made of nickel silver and silver-plated. As the badge was to be attached behind the rank stars on both ends of the collar, it was made in mirror image – the eagle always had to face the front. The rank of *Fähnrich* replaced that of *Kadett-Offiziersstellvertreter* in the Austro-Hungarian army in 1908. The distinguishing colour of the border troops was grass-green. The rank insignia of a *Fähnrich* consisted of patterned gold braid and one silver-plated six-pointed star. As he was not considered an officer, he wore the other ranks' belt of natural brown leather. The decoration visible on the blouse is the Commemorative Cross instituted after mobilization for the Balkan Wars of 1912/13, in soldiers' jargon the 'Fear Cross'. (HGM)

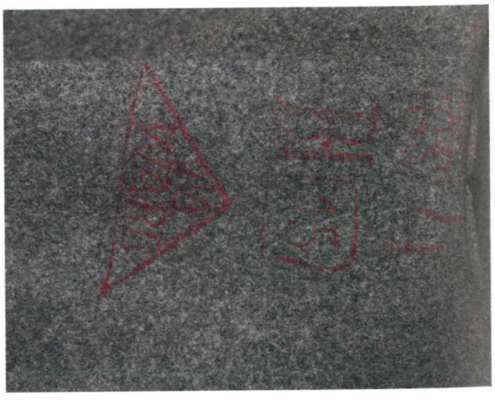
Five *Hauptleute* and an *Oberst* in field-grey uniform with blouses, trousers in the cut of breeches, boots or gaiters with laced shoes. The *Hauptmann* standing on the left is wearing the insignia of the border troops on his collar. The second officer from the right is wearing a field-grey fez and the insignia of the machine-gun detachments on his collar. Two of the officers are wearing blouses with buttoned button tapes (Karl's blouse), introduced after 1917.

Archives ZIK



Field-Grey Blouse for Other Ranks 1915 – The blouse illustrated shows no piping, so that it cannot be attributed to a specific unit. The stamp 'ÖTLG', dated 1915, indicates the Austrian Textile Suppliers Community as the manufacturer. Another stamp 'BH' might indicate use by Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. The blouse is fastened at the front by five small zinc buttons and there are similar buttons on the sleeves.





Archives VM

***Fähnrich* Ilija Nikolić of Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2 in M 1915 field-grey blouse with button flaps adapted for makeshift buttoning.**

Field-Grey Blouse of a One-Year Volunteer Officer Candidate – The inserted breast pockets of the blouse illustrated are not exactly in keeping with regulations (they should be scalloped breast pockets). Furthermore, the fine cloth and the solid manufacturing indicate a privately purchased item, which is also shown by the identification of a one-year volunteer (armbands). Behind the ranks stars of pressed celluloid on the collar the telegraph badge can be recognized (originally introduced in 1911). For officers embroidered in gold or (except for parade uniform) stamped of gilt tombac, for other ranks it was made of nickel silver (as here). Apart from officers, officials and other ranks of the k.u.k. Telegraph Regiment, it was worn by telegraph officers of the infantry, by personnel of other units attached to the telegraph units of higher headquarters and by other ranks of telephone platoons after 1917. (UAM)

Archives JS

Zugsführer **(right) of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry or *Jäger* in field-grey uniform, 1915. On the right of his chest there is a cockade stamped of tombac as a 'distinction for special skill' or a 'badge for special training or use' (e.g. range-finding award, telegraphists' award). On the left of his chest he displays the Small Silver Medal for Bravery and the Military Jubilee Cross of 1908. The telegraphists' badge is visible on his collar.**

Field-Grey Blouse of a *Zugsführer* of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Jäger* – The 1915-pattern field-grey blouse with stand-up collar shows the grass-green piping characteristic of *Jäger*, which was also worn by k.u.k. Infantry Regiments Nos. 8, 28, 61 and 62 as well as by the Austrian Landwehr. The haversack of field-grey canvas was used for storing the canteen. On the 'bayonet with sword knot loop' for the 1895-pattern repeating rifle the yellow sword knot (closed sword knot) authorized for NCOs is attached. (HGM)

Field-Grey Blouse for a *Fähnrich* – This privately purchased item of the pattern introduced in 1915 shows a higher collar, like that of the tunic. On this specimen the rank insignia (narrow-patterned gold braid and silver-plated star for a *Fähnrich*) are sewn on with grass-green piping behind. This blouse made of worsted yarn is only lined with grey quilted cotton in the area of the shoulders and upper torso. (HGM)

Archives VM

***Oberst* Alfred von Kurelec, from August until November 1915 commander of Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 2, in a field-grey blouse.**

M 1916 Field-Grey 'Universal Blouse' – The illustrations show a universal field blouse with folding-down collar for a *Zugsführer* of the *Jäger*. The rank stars pressed of celluloid are sewn directly to the collar. The shoulder-straps are fastened by a metal button painted field-grey. For reasons of camouflage the brass belt buckle was usually painted dull field-grey. The shoulder roller is buttoned under the right shoulder-strap and is intended to prevent the rifle sling from slipping off. The field-grey fez has fringes of the same colour. (HGM)

Archives CN

Members of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian unit in field marching dress. The officer in the centre is evidently wearing a privately purchased 'coat' with piping on the folding-down collar. As the war drew on, pike-grey and field-grey items of uniform were mixed more and more often.

Overcoat

As the topmost garment the overcoat guaranteed protection against the cold and the rain. Officers' overcoats were usually calf-long, whereas other ranks' overcoats only extended to below the knee. But many officers shortened their overcoats so as to be able to move more easily in the countryside.

When they were formed in 1882, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry were issued the same blue-grey overcoats worn by the infantry of the k.k. army. At the front the other ranks' overcoat had two rows of 5 buttons each, a cloth collar and piped collar tabs without a button. It did not have piping and had a half-belt at the back fastened by a large button. The other ranks' overcoat extended to below the knee and could be folded back by hooks to make marching easier.

Officers' overcoats were usually of a practical black colour, with a black velvet collar. At the front they had two rows of 6 buttons each and a dragoon at the back fastened by two overcoat buttons at the waist. The side skirt pockets were covered by square flaps. A slit was incised into the left pocket, allowing the sabre to be pushed through when the overcoat was being worn. Officers' overcoats had piping in the distinguishing colour along the outside edges, including the clasp and the pocket flaps at the back. The piped collar tabs had a small tunic button. Officers' overcoats extended down to the calf.

In 1908 pike-grey overcoats were issued to the infantry and also *Jäger* units. The cut was not changed. On officers' overcoats the collar was now made of grey velvet. Officers had to put on the pike-grey overcoats within a short time, even if the uniformity of appearance of formations were to suffer.[1] The large quantity of blue-grey other ranks' overcoats was to be used up, for which the War Ministry still issued a decree in 1910.[2] After the outbreak of the war in 1914 officers' overcoats were frequently shortened to ease movement in the countryside.

From 1915 on overcoats were also made in field-grey and the smooth buttons (with the exception of the artillery) were painted dull grey-green. As of 1917 the pleat at the back and the cuffs were dropped to economize on material and simplify the manufacturing process.[3]

1 k.u.k. KM, decree Abt. 13 No. 127 of 15 February 1909.
2 Ibid., No. 1852 of 6 September 1910.
3 VOBl. f.d. k.u.k. Heer, Jg. 1917, ZVO of 28 June 1917, Abt. 13, Zl. 25977.

Archives HGM

Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry after 1908. The other ranks are still wearing the grey-blue overcoat, whilst the officer (with a black cap) and the cadet or *Fähnrich* standing next to him are already equipped with the new pike-grey overcoat.

Pike-Grey Overcoat for Officers of the k.u.k. *Feldjäger* – The gilt buttons of the officers of the k.u.k. *Feldjäger* show, like the illustrated specimen from the k.u.k. *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 16, the battalion number, whereas those of the k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Jäger* were 'yellow' (gilt) and smooth. The overcoat made of fine cloth has a green velvet collar with grass-green piping and a small tunic button, a half-belt at the back fastened by two large buttons and two skirt pockets on the sides closed by square flaps. It is fastened at the front by two rows of six large overcoat buttons. On the outside edges, on the waist belt and the back pocket flaps officers' overcoats had piping in the distinguishing colour. (HGM)

Trousers

After their formation in 1882 the other ranks' trousers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry, and later those of the gendarmerie corps and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger*, had a characteristic design derived from regional national costume. Officers and sometimes NCOs used the items in general use in the k.u.k army, but with a few special features.

The trousers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry introduced in 1882 were made of light-blue cloth. In the course of the years several minor modifications were performed, also affecting the quality of the material. From the hips to below the knee the thigh sections were baggy and narrowed from then on, giving the trousers their somewhat oriental appearance. The incised pockets had pocket bags of lining canvas. The top edge of the breeches was lined with lining canvas. The fly was fastened by 4 small zinc buttons. The calf sections tapering towards the bottom were connected to the thigh sections by a band reinforced by lining canvas. At the ends of the bands and the beginnings of the calf sections there was a small tunic button (with the regimental number) and below that 5 iron hooks for fastening the calf section. The feet openings were provided with two-part linen stirrups to make the trousers fit better and prevent them from slipping out of the laced boots.

Whereas the trousers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry were always made without piping, in 1903 the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* were given 4-mm-wide grass-green piping on the outside seams of the trousers. The same year they were issued pike-grey trousers of the same cut (and piping). In 1908 the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry were issued pike-grey trousers, but the light-blue ones remained regulation on parade. Interestingly, for some members of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry and *Feldjäger* the slightly different artillery breeches were stipulated instead of the Bosnian ones: for (mounted) regimental and battalion buglers, horse handlers, drivers and *Stabsführer*.[1]

When the field-grey uniform was introduced in 1915, the special items for Bosnian-Herzegovinian units were manufactured in the new colour. On the buttons below the knee the number was omitted (smooth, grey-green metal buttons), as was conspicuous piping. The Bosnian breeches also differed from the similar artillery ones in the absence of numbered buttons.

On parade officers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry wore light-blue trousers with alizarin-red piping. *Fähnriche* and NCOs of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry who were authorized to wear light-blue trousers off duty had no piping. Mounted personnel could use riding breeches or officers trousers adapted as riding breeches. They had to be in keeping with the stipulated uniform colour (light-blue or pike-grey, after 1915 only field-grey). According to the uniform regulations of 1910, officers and military officials could put on riding breeches in the cut of breeches or made of woven sheep's wool or grey buckskin.[2]

During the warm season summer trousers of light material could be worn. For other ranks the summer trousers were made of unbleached drill and for military officials and *Fähnriche* of white linen or canvas-coloured[3] sheep's wool. There were also versions of light-beige or white trousers made of cotton. Off duty officers could wear blue-grey (almost black) trousers with red piping, so-called 'drawing room trousers', the cut of which was largely in keeping with that of the light-blue trousers.

1 Uniform regulations for the k.u.k. Army, Part II, Vienna 1911, 20/21 and 40/41.

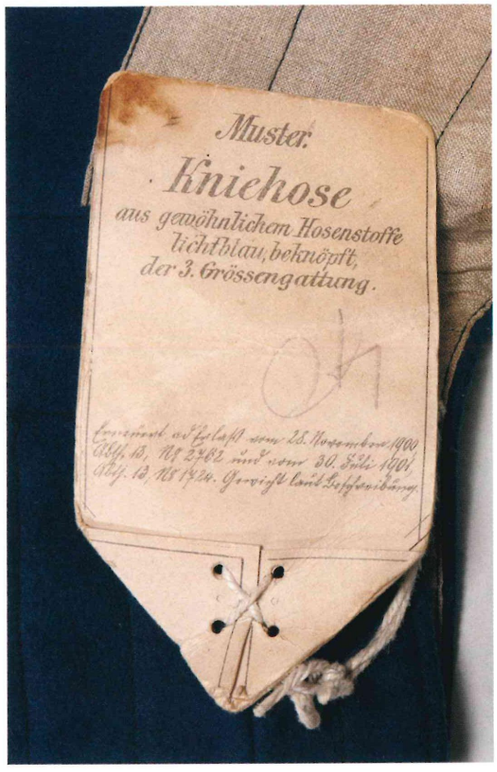
2 Ibid., Part I, Vienna 1910, 60.

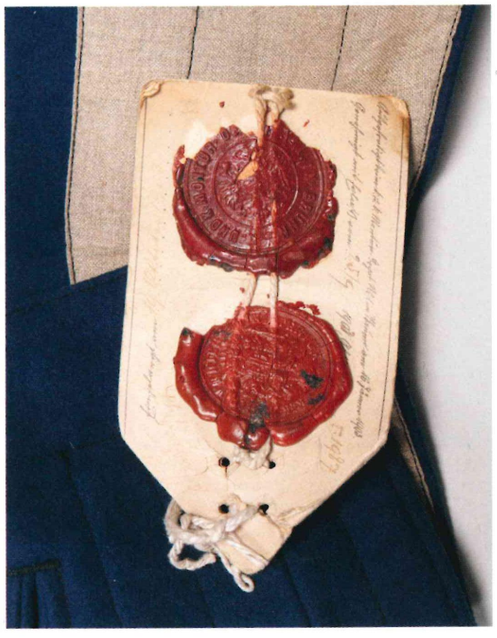
3 In earlier regulations termed *'lichtdrap'* (light colour).

Archives CN

***Korporal* of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in parade uniform with the characteristic baggy light-blue trousers.**

Breeches for Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops (Sample) – This sample following the decree of 1892 is made of light-blue cloth. The stamp on the lining shows that it was inspected by the uniform depot in 1894 (MD1 – [1]894). (HGM)





1901-Pattern Breeches for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry (Sample) – Made of light-blue cloth, the trousers have a separate pocket of lining canvas on the inside of the front of the right pocket for storing the identity capsule. The two buttons at the beginning of the calf sections indicate that the trousers belonged to Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. (HGM)

Archives FR

Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Korporal* in light-blue walking-out uniform. The calf sections of the trousers were inserted into the black, laced shoes. He has the M 1854 engineers' sabre as his side arm.

Breeches for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry – This pair is privately purchased and made of fine, light-blue cloth. Resembling riding breeches in cut, the trousers have the small numbered buttons regulation for other ranks' trousers under the knee. Apart from the elaborate workmanship, the striking lining at the waist and the separate waistband to be buttoned in the lining and guaranteeing a particularly elegant fit are noteworthy. The trousers were probably an item privately purchased by a one-year volunteer or a long-service NCO. (HGM)

Light-Blue Breeches for Other Ranks of the k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry – The pair illustrated are in keeping with the pattern shown in the uniform regulations of 1911 and, unlike the predecessor models, show pockets each fastened by a small zinc button, but here the linen strips at the foot openings are missing. The trousers are lined with canvas. In the case of semi-fine trousers dark-grey cotton lining was used instead of canvas. (HGM)

Pike-Grey Trousers for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry 1908 – In cut and design the pike-grey trousers of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry were identical to the light-blue ones. (UAM)

Archduke Carl Franz Josef (with overcoat). At the time still heir to the throne he visits a k.u.k. Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiment which is lined up in pike-grey uniforms. Pine twigs are attached to the fez and field cap as the traditional field sign.

Archives MCO

Field-Grey Breeches for Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops – The stamp on the lining of the seat indicates that the trousers were inspected by Uniform Depot No. 3 (Gösting) in 1915. The additional stamps on the inside of the trousers show that they were issued to Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4. (HGM)

Archives FR

Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantryman in the field-grey uniform with breeches and puttees introduced in 1915. He is also wearing the reddish-brown fez, a belt with a single-pronged buckle and carrying a trench dagger.

Field-Grey Breeches for Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops – The calf sections are no longer fastened by hooks, but by three small zinc buttons. To protect the calf sections against the cold or wet, knee-long stockings or puttees were frequently worn during the war. (HGM)

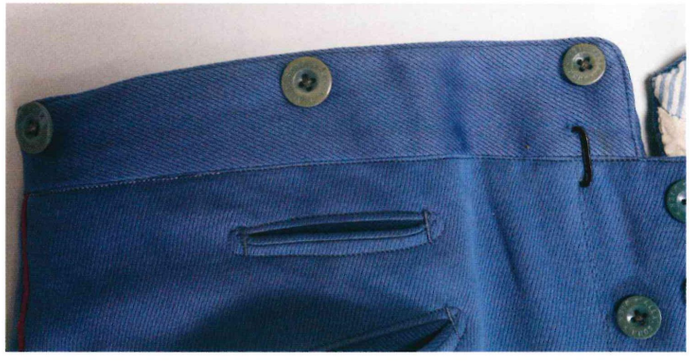
Archives FR

Hauptmann **of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry (left) in field-grey uniform, around 1917. With the field-grey breeches, which were generally popular among officers of the Austro-Hungarian army, boots, smooth leather gaiters or sometimes puttees were worn. On the right of the picture an Albanian volunteer in national costume.**

Archives ZIK

***Hauptmann* of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry in riding breeches sitting in front of his field accommodation.**

Pike-Grey Riding Breeches – The trousers made in the design of breeches of pike-grey worsted yarn were fastened on the tight calf sections by three small light-brown horn buttons. The fly was fastened by dark horn buttons, which were also sewn to the outside of the waist to attach braces. These breeches come from the same *Fähnrich* of the k.u.k. border troops as the pike-grey blouse shown a few pages previously. (HGM)



Light-Blue Trousers with Alizarin-Red Piping – The long trousers made of fine worsted yarn have stirrups on the openings of the legs to enable a tight fit. For adjusting the size of the waist there is a loop of trouser material with a buckle on the back. (HGM)

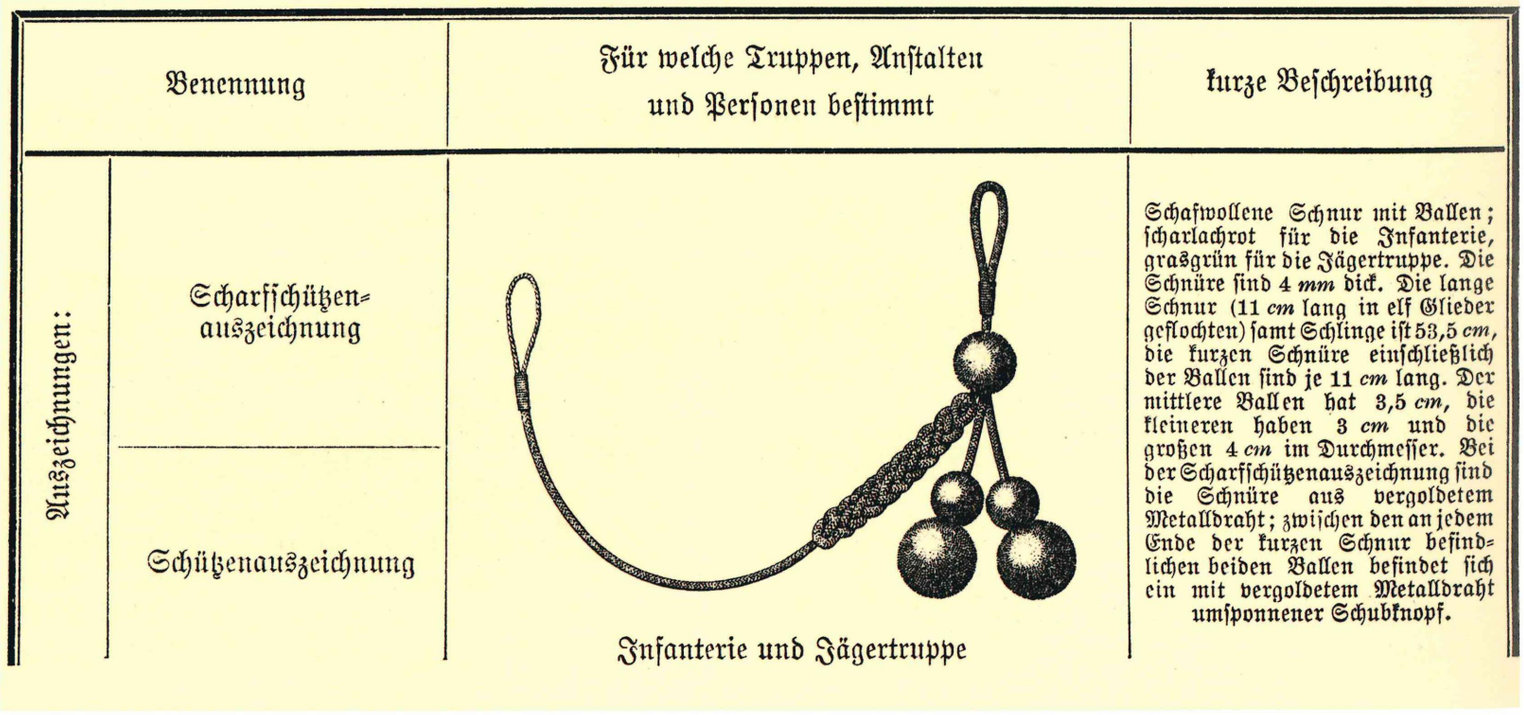
Special Uniform Items

Of course, the uniform of military personnel did not just consist of upper garments, but also of attributes and accessories. At any rate the sword knots and the field sash (which was actually worn in the field until 1914) viewed as the service insignia of dismounted officers were relevant.

The officers' sword knot of the pattern usual until the end of the monarchy was already introduced in the k.k. army in 1849[1] and was only slightly modified until 1916. The tassel was composed of the button and cantille embroidery.[2] The former was made of wood and covered with gold web in chessboard pattern. On one side it was decorated by the double eagle and on the other by the monarch's monogram, both embroidered in gold. The gold braid embroidery was 6 cm long and 3 mm thick, the outer layer in shining gold, the inner one (filling) of black silk, interwoven with gold. It hung freely. According to the uniform regulations of 1910, the band was 82 cm long, 2 cm wide and interrupted lengthwise by three black lines. On the inside it was lined with yellow leather. For officer candidates the band and the fringes were made of yellow silk instead of gold, but the button and the embroidery of the eagle and the monogram were gold. This 'open' sword knot was carried on the sabre. The 'closed' sword knot for officers with the Imperial monogram 'K' on the button, which was to be carried with the bayonet, was only introduced in 1917.

The field sash was made of Imperial-yellow and black silk and consisted of the band and the two tassels. The former was 6.5 cm wide and – depending on the officer's girth – 3 to 3.5 m long. The tassel consisted of a flat button, on the sides of which the double eagle and the Imperial monogram was embroidered. The 24-cm-long fringes hung freely from the bottom end. The outer layer was yellow and the inner one black. The beginnings of the fringes and the edge of the tassel button were covered by twisted Imperial-yellow silk cords. The field sash was worn above the topmost garment (tunic, blouse or overcoat) on parade and until autumn 1914, i.e. still at the beginning of the First World War,[3] with marching dress, on inspection, guard, stand-by and orderly duty, at the concluding session of the disciplinary commission and the execution of a death sentence, during personal reports, main reports, alarms and by officer bearers at funerals. It was considered the service insignia of the dismounted officer.[4]

To distinguish excellent musketry a rifle award in the shape of a woollen cord decoration with four woollen pompoms was instituted in 1868.[5] For the infantry (including the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments later formed) it was scarlet and for all *Jäger* units (and the k.k. Landwehr) grass-green. The significance of accuracy was increasing due to improved weapons technology and altered tactics. For this reason in 1906



Benennung		Für welche Truppen, Anstalten und Personen bestimmt	kurze Beschreibung
Auszeichnungen:	Scharfschützen-auszeichnung	Infanterie und Jägertruppe	Schafwollene Schnur mit Ballen; scharlachrot für die Infanterie, grasgrün für die Jägertruppe. Die Schnüre sind 4 *mm* dick. Die lange Schnur (11 *cm* lang in elf Glieder geflochten) samt Schlinge ist 53,5 *cm*, die kurzen Schnüre einschließlich der Ballen sind je 11 *cm* lang. Der mittlere Ballen hat 3,5 *cm*, die kleineren haben 3 *cm* und die großen 4 *cm* im Durchmesser. Bei der Scharfschützenauszeichnung sind die Schnüre aus vergoldetem Metalldraht; zwischen den an jedem Ende der kurzen Schnur befindlichen beiden Ballen befindet sich ein mit vergoldetem Metalldraht umsponnener Schubknopf.
	Schützenauszeichnung		

Archives VM

This excerpt from the uniform regulations shows the marksmanship award for the infantry and *Jäger*.

an additional 'marksmanship award' was introduced, whose 4-mm-thick cord was made of gilt metal wire. As with the rifle award, the pompoms were scarlet for the infantry of the k.u.k army and grass-green for *Jäger* and the k.k. Landwehr infantry.
In the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina a lanyard for the signalling whistle had originally been introduced of the same appearance as the rifle award for the infantry. In 1911 it was issued a mottled yellow-black 'signalling whistle lanyard', which was only to be worn with the tunic (for normal duty there was a black double round cord).[6] These cords were to be worn on the topmost garment (tunic, blouse, overcoat) from the left shoulder to the third blouse or tunic button in such a way that the pompoms hung down on the left of the body.

1 RGuVOBl. Jg.1849; No.127: War Ministry decree of 14 February 1849, 124ff (Plan 3 to No.124).

2 Uniform regulations for the k.u.k. Army, Part I, Vienna 1910, 126f.

3 The field sash was abolished in the army in the field by a circular decree of 28 August 1914; from now on 'service insignia' consisted of the brown leather belt introduced with the pike-grey field uniform in 1908.

4 Uniform regulations for the k.u.k. Army, Part I, Vienna 1910, 24.

5 K.k. Armee-VOBl. Jg.1868; ZVO of 31 July 1868, Abt.13, No.3057.

6 Uniform regulations for the k.u.k. Army, Part V, Vienna 1911, 55.

Bronze statue of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantryman during a bayonet charge. He is wearing a marksmanship award on the left of his blouse.

Field Sash – The field sash made of Imperial-yellow silk with interwoven black threads has a slide of gilt brass. It was worn by officers with parade dress. When the sash was wound around the body, the fringes dangled on the left.

Marksmanship Award and Lanyard – The marksmanship award for the k.(u.)k. infantry, made of scarlet wool, was worn by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry, just as the grass-green marksmanship award of the k.(u.)k. *Jäger* was worn by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger*. The same applied to the corresponding sharpshooters' award with its gold-coloured cord. A special feature was the black and yellow 'lanyard' of the gendarmerie corps for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Marksmanship awards and lanyards were worn exclusively by other ranks, but not by officers.

Archives JS

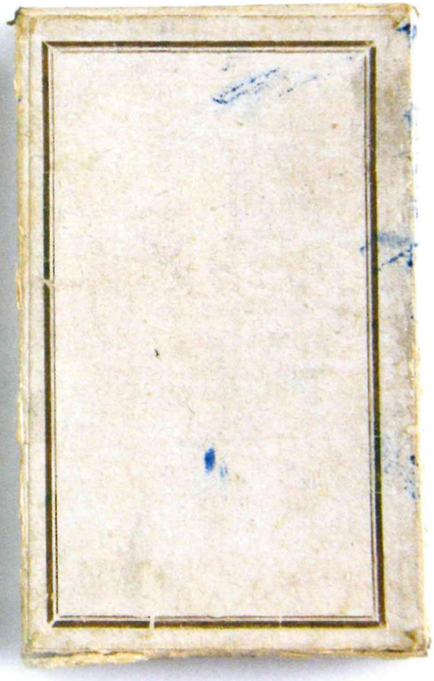
Group of Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantrymen, some of whom are wearing the marksmanship award or sharpshooters' award (e.g. the *Zugsführer* and *Korporal* sitting in the centre of the first row).

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Commemorative Medal

On the occasion of the extension of Austrian sovereign rights to Bosnia and Herzegovina Emperor Franz Joseph instituted this commemorative medal on 30 August 1909, which was also awarded to the officers and military officials of k.u.k. XV Corps (Sarajevo). The model made of bronze had a diameter of 36 mm and the obverse showed Emperor Franz Joseph's bust and the reverse the state coat of arms of Bosnia-Herzegovina, laurel leaves and the inscription 'DIE V.OCT.MCMVIII' (5 October 1908 – the day of the formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Danube Monarchy). The coat of arms was surrounded by a fleur-de-lis crown. Under the coat of arms there was an arch-shaped bandeau with the inscription 'IN MEMORIAM' ('In Memory'). The medal was worn on a 40-mm-wide split triangular ribbon in the state colours of Bosnia-Herzegovina (red-yellow).[1] In sequence it ranked between the Military Jubilee Cross or the Jubilee Cross for Civil Servants and the Commemorative Medal for Field Marshal Archduke Albrecht.[2]

1 Walter A. Schwarz: *Verleihe ich Ihnen... Die militärischen Auszeichnungen der Republik Österreich und ihre Vorgänger*; Vienna 2004, 238.

2 Uniform regulations for the k.u.k. Army, Part I, Vienna 1910, 5.



Bosnian-Herzegovinian Commemorative Medal – Shown here are the obverse (with the portrait bust of the Emperor) and the reverse of the medal and the boxes in which medals were awarded. To attach the medal to the uniform, the wire hook on the reverse of the ribbon was opened, the ribbon was pulled over the appropriate loop on the tunic and the wire hook fastened again in the eye at the bottom end of the ribbon. (private collection, HGM)

Cap badges

As symbols of membership in specific units or in commemoration of operations experienced cap badges were very popular among the officers and other ranks of the Austro-Hungarian army in the First World War. As a form of 'corporate design' they made reference to historical and political, religious and ethnic or traditional military events.
The wear of 'special badges' on headdress was settled in circular decree no. 124 in 1916. Accordingly, cap badges with the picture of His Majesty the Emperor and King and His Highness *Feldzeugmeister* Archduke Friedrich and the badges introduced during the war in individual armies, corps and other formations were to be attached to the right of the cap (which was deliberately not heeded, because badges were usually fastened to the left, which was really 'reserved' for official troop badges). The wear of such badges was authorized with the army in the field on and off duty and in the rear only for the duration of the war. Undoubtedly, cap badges considerably helped to foster a sense of identity and enhanced the solidarity among soldiers.

Typical contemporary heroic postures and country-specific presentations identify the cap badges of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry regiments (from left to right): cap badge of the bh. IR. No. 1, the bh. IR. No. 2 (Monte Meletta), the bh. IR. No. 3 and the bh. IR. No. 4. On the next page: cap badges of the 3rd battalion of the bh. IR. No. 4.

The unmistakable emblem of *Jäger* units is the hunting horn, here for Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalions Nos. 2 and 7. The presentation of Emperor Franz Joseph as the supreme war lord was intended to express loyalty and solidarity with the ruling dynasty.

Remarkable Biographies

Biographies of Remarkable Bosniaks

by Christoph Neumayer and Erwin A. Schmidl

The following biographies present selected k.u.k. 'Bosniaks', without intending to be complete. A classification according to religion or ethnicity has been deliberately avoided, as this would imply projecting today's identities back to the period one hundred years ago. For different reasons, not least due to the sources, most of the persons presented here were officers. Nevertheless, their destinies may stand representative for all ranks.

Recipient of the Military Maria Theresia Order: Árpád Bertalan (1898–1941)

The Hungarian *Leutnant*, Árpád Bertalan, was one of the two most highly decorated officers of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. During the First World War he was awarded the Military Maria Theresia Order, the highest military decoration Austria-Hungary had to confer. (The second was the Bosnian Croat, Gojkomir Glogovac.) Bertalan, born the son of an officer in Pressburg (Hungarian: Poszony, today Bratislava in Slovakia) in 1898, graduated from the Infantry Cadet Academy in Budapest. In 1916 he was posted as a *Fähnrich* to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 3, which was being employed on the Isonzo front at the time. There he commanded the assault unit of the 3rd Field Company and quickly showed his talent for independent and flexible action. His performance on 24 October 1917 during the 12th Battle of the Isonzo, the breakthrough at Flitsch (Bovec) and Tolmein (Tolmino) is particularly worthy of mention.[1] His battalion was part of the 7th Mountain Brigade, which was to take the Italian fortifications on the ridges of Rute, Varda Vrh and the crest west of Jazne and roll up the enemy positions in the direction of Ostry Kras. The minimum objective for the day was the summit of Globočak. It was Bertalan's mission to push towards Ostry Kras with his 15-man assault patrol and reach the village of Srdnje as the final objective in the evening.

At the beginning of the operation around 0815h his assault unit had already been fired on by two well-covered Italian machine guns. Supported by a second assault unit under the command of *Fähnrich* Bernhardt Mendel, Bertalan managed to take the Italian MG nests with hand grenades. Around 1030h Bertalan's assault patrol attacked the forward Italian lines and rolled them up to a length of 300 paces. *'The enemy was so surprised that 10 officers and nearly 500 men surrendered.'*[2] This brave thrust and the following assault unit under *Fähnrich* Kemeny succeeded in breaking through the first Italian position so that the forward battalions of the 7th Mountain Brigade could advance.

Bertalan's group became smaller: the wounded stayed behind as well as a number of his men to guard the prisoners. With only eight men Bertalan surprised an infantry detachment resting next to an Italian field hospital. The result was impressive: 100 Italians as well as three doctors and medical personnel surrendered. Together with *Fähnrich* Kemeny's unit, which had caught up in the meantime, Bertalan moved on to the height of Ostry Kras, over the ridge of which the second Italian position ran. The assault units also penetrated this trench sector and after a brisk action captured two officers and about 50 men. In the meantime it was 1530h and dusk was slowly falling. Under the pressure of time Bertalan decided to make use of the last of the light and to move on instead of waiting for troops to follow up, as Italian artillery fire was coming from Srednje. By 1800h Bertalan had taken the Italian artillery battery consisting of six heavy mortars after short fighting. He finally left the prisoners to themselves, assembled the remaining Bosniaks and attacked the Italian infantry in the other sectors of trench from the rear with their last hand grenades; in the meantime the majority of his battalion launched its attack. After a short battle the whole of the Italian second position was taken as well as the village of Srednje. About 1,000 men were captured. *'It was an undisputed victory'*, as a description of the day stated.[3] For this success *Leutnant* Bertalan was awarded the Gold Medal for Bravery for Officers. He remained in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 3 and in 1918 fought on the Piave and finally in Albania.

During the war Bertalan was decorated with the Silver 'Signum Laudis' with War Decorations and Swords, the Bronze Military Merit Medal with Swords and the Karl Troops' Cross. After the war Bertalan was called upon to apply for the Military Maria Theresia Order. It was one of the peculiarities of the order that the potential recipient had to apply for it himself. Remarkably, the chapter of the order survived the monarchy and continued to exist after 1918. On 26 December

Archives UAM

Arpád Bertalan as a major of the Royal Hungarian army during the interwar years. As the commander of an assault unit of the Bosnian-Hercegovinian *Jäger* Battallion Nr. 3 during the 12th Battle of the Isonzo he managed to break through the Italian lines and take almost 1,000 men prisoner.

1925 Bertalan, now an *Oberleutnant* in the Royal Hungarian Honvéd, applied for the order.[4] His battalion commander during the First World War, *Oberst* Otto von Riedl Edler von Leuenstern, wrote in his bravery testimonial: '*In the battalion Leutnant Bertalan had always been known as an extremely courageous and dashing officer. But what he performed on that day eclipsed everything before. If one of my former officers is worthy of the highest decoration, then it is certainly Leutnant Bertalan, to whose brave but level-headed energy the glorious victory of the 7th Mountain Brigade can be ascribed, a success obtained with the minimum of loss*'.[5] *Leutnant* Bernhardt Mendel, the *Fähnrich* commanding the neighbouring assault unit in 1917, added: '*Leutnant Bertalan was well-known throughout the battalion for his courage and exceptional presence of mind*'.[6] The application was approved and Bertalan received the Military Maria Theresia Order during the 193rd awarding ceremony on 25 October 1927, almost exactly ten years after his exploit.[7]

In the interwar years Árpád Bertalan continued to serve as a regular officer in the Hungarian national army and was awarded the Hungarian Vitéz Order. As a major and commander of the Hungarian Parachute Battalion he was injured on an operation in Yugoslavia and succumbed to his wounds in Veszprém on 12 April 1941. (CN)

1 Oskar von Hofmann – Gustav von Hubka, *Der Militär-Maria-Theresien -Orden: Die Auszeichnungen im Weltkrieg 1914–1918* (Vienna 1943), 72f.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., 74.

4 Austrian State Archives, war archives (in the following: KA), Archives of the Military Maria Theresia Order (in the following: MMTO), Fasc. IV B 346/1.

5 Ibid., Fasc. IV B 346/4.

6 Ibid., Fasc. IV B 346/6.

7 Geza Kövess von Kövesshaza, *Die Militär-Maria Theresien-Ordens-Ritter des Weltkrieges 1914–1918* (special print from *Jahrbuch der Vereinigung katholischer Edelleute in Österreich*, Vienna 1937), 20.

Photographer and Author: Pero Blašković (1883–1945)

Pero (Peter) Blašković was born the son of a house owner in Dubovac (district of Karlovac in Croatia) on 25 June 1883. He graduated from the Infantry Cadet Academy in Trieste with distinction and as a Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter* joined Hungarian Infantry Regiment No. 43, stationed in Vienna, in August 1902. Promoted *Leutnant* on 1 November 1903, from October 1904 to October 1905 Blašković was attached to Engineer Battalion No. 14 and then

Archives ZIK

He comprehensively recorded life with the Bosniaks during the First World War: *Hauptmann* Pero Blašković (centre left, with white collar) together with fellow officers of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 on the Eastern front.

became the engineer officer of his regiment.[1] In 1909 he was attached to the Military Geographical Institute in Vienna, a cartographic establishment with an international reputation, and from 1910 to 1913, now an *Oberleutnant*, he worked as an instructor at the Infantry Cadet Academy in Kamenitz near Petrovaradin. In 1913 he was posted to the III Battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 in Tuzla. He was thus in one of the Bosnian battalions employed in the Serbian theatre in 1914.

During the First World War Blašković fought in the 3rd Regiment and became a platoon, then a battalion commander and the regimental adjutant. From 6 August 1914 until the end of the war he was in the field, only interrupted by sick leave in Budapest in 1915 and by duty with the replacement battalion (from November 1916 until July 1917).

For his exceptional performance Blašković was decorated several times. As an *Oberleutnant* in October 1914 he was awarded the Bronze Military Merit Medal ('Signum Laudis') on the ribbon of the Military Merit Cross for storming and holding a Serbian infantry position near Sabać with his machine gun detachment.[2] On 6 December 1914 he was promoted *Hauptmann*, as an exceptional case. As commander of the III Field Battalion he was awarded the Military Merit Cross 3rd Class with War Decorations in April 1915 for independent and offensive action during the fighting near Boguslawov.[3] In December 1915, the Silver Military Merit Medal on the ribbon of the Military Merit Cross with Swords followed for the fighting at Lapanowo. There, with his 16th Field Company, Blašković had managed to repulse Russian attacks and capture a large number of Russians in a counter attack. In his memoirs Blašković mentioned 168 men and two machine guns.[4] Blašković, still commander of the 16th Field Company, was awarded the Order of the Iron Crown 3rd Class with War Decoration for the defensive fighting at Niewirovka and Gorje Starobrodzke in July 1916. As the regimental adjutant he was awarded the Silver Military Merit Medal on the ribbon of the Military Merit Cross with Swords for the second time in March 1918 for his conduct during the fighting at Tölgyes, Czerepkoutz and St. Onufry and the counter attack against Waschkoutz.[5] For *'extremely gallant conduct in the face of the enemy'* and as *'an excellent and zealous officer'* he was decorated with the Silver Medal for Bravery 1st Class for Officers during the fighting for the Montello ridge during the Piave offensive in June 1918.[6]

As commander of the II Battalion of the Third Bosniaks, Blašković went into captivity on the Piave on 28 October 1918. The enemy troops were the French Infantry Regiments Nos. 107 and 138, which, together with British and American forces, had been transferred to this theatre to reinforce the Italians after the 12th Battle of the Isonzo in 1917. After some time in quarantine in Vicenza and transfer to the south of France via Corfu and Toulon, Blašković returned home in February 1919, which meanwhile had become part of the new 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' (SHS State), later Yugoslavia. He was taken over by the army of the SHS State and retired before the beginning of the Second World War. Briefly reactivated as a major general of the new Croatian National Army in 1941, from April until July 1941 he commanded the Bosnian Division with its headquarters in Sarajevo. But he soon returned to retirement, possibly due to his critical stance towards the head of state, Ante Pavelić, and his *Ustaše*. In the late summer of 1944 he was arrested for alleged involvement in the abortive coup by the Croatian Foreign Minister Mladen Lorković and War Minister Ante Vokić, who had sought a termination to the alliance with the Third Reich. The highly decorated Blašković died in prison in 1945. Up to now it has never been clarified whether he was murdered or succumbed to the strain.[7]

Pero Blašković achieved special significance in the history of the Bosniaks through his publications. As an enthusiastic photographer he recorded the life of the Third Bosniaks in pictures during the First World War and published a brochure on his regiment in Budapest in 1917.[8] In the interwar years he made his memoirs available to the war archives in Vienna for the purposes of writing a history of the First World War.[9] In 1939 he published the book *Sa Bosnjacima u svejtskom ratu* (= 'With the Bosniaks in the Great War'), a comprehensive depiction of his service in the war. In addition, the book describes in individual fashion life in the Austro-Hungarian army before and during the First World War and grants good and critical insight into the everyday life, supply situation, atmosphere and leadership of the officer corps. Blašković's literary account gives an extensive view of the customs of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army. The book was published in Croatian. Pavo Jusuf Urban-Ibruljević, the indefatigable commemorator of the Bosniaks, had a German translation made. An excerpt from the book was published in German in the book series of the National Defence Academy in 2001.[10] (CN)

1 Qualification list Peter Blašković (KA: Bestand Qualifikationslisten – in the following Quall.).

2 KA: Officers' pay applications, no. 761, carton 1.

3 KA: Officers' pay applications, no. 15.950, ct. 19.

4 KA: Officers' pay applications, no. 64.834, ct. 57; Pero Blasković, *Mit den Bosniaken im Weltkrieg* (= Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie Vienna 3/2001, Vienna 2001), 71.

5 KA: Officers' pay applications, no. 234.483, ct. 306.

6 KA: Officers' pay applications, no. 263.008, ct. 347.

7 Cf. Peter Broucek (ed.), *Ein General im Zwielicht: Die Erinnerungen Edmund Glaises von Horstenau, Vol. 3: Deutscher Bevollmächtigter General in Kroatien und Zeuge des Untergangs des „Tausendjährigen Reiches"* (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 76, Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1988, 2nd exp. ed. 2005), 452.

8 Pero Blašković, *bh IR 3* (Budapest 1917).

9 KA: New field files (NFA): BH IR Nr. 3/GB 1918, annex memoirs of Mjr.i.d.Res. Pero Blašković, dated 14 February 1936 (quoted from: Richard Eugen Bösch, *Die Haltung der südslawischen Soldaten des österreichisch-ungarischen Heeres im Ersten Weltkrieg* [D. Phil. Diss., Vienna University 1982], 223).

10 *Mit den Bosniaken im Weltkrieg – Auszug aus Pero Blašković „Sa Bosnjacima u svejtskom ratu"* (= Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie 3/2001, Vienna 2001).

About the Bosniaks

I can only say about my fantastic comrades in arms and soldiers, the Bosniaks, that they were among the best soldiers in the whole world. [...]
The mentality of the soldiers would have surprised anyone from the rear. On the attack, when a knife is used and heads roll, a man is full of divergent feelings. His best friend is killed next to him and he himself is surprised that he doesn't cry. At the same time he cheers at the success he has reached. At decisive moments the Bosniaks, too, did not display much sentimentality, but a great deal of sense for practical matters.
They often reminded me of the old border soldiers in Italy and Trenck's Pandurs from the Seven Years' War. They took away anything that was loose and satisfied their requirements from booty taken from the enemy. [...]
The Bosniaks are quiet and reserved people. But in combat they are merry, loud, full of spirits and extremely vivacious. They are like well-behaved children, they listen to their commander, never desert him and are utterly loyal to him. This applies to all officers, be it the youngest cadet, but he must look after them or at least show the desire to do so. By contrast, not even the most senior NCO enjoys more than a certain degree of authority. They see him as one of their own.

Discipline and Bravery

I think there was no unit in the Austro-Hungarian army in which discipline represented such a small problem as with the Bosniaks. They followed their superiors like good, well-behaved children. Not only the old, well trained soldiers did this, the youngsters were also made of the same stock. This loyalty continued to exist when discipline had noticeably declined in the best regiments due to the shortage of food, the length of the war and political subversion.
Among the Bosniaks discipline was upheld until the very last day of fighting at the front and it did not even get lost in captivity. As the most senior officer in the regiment I was given command of the whole regiment in French captivity and I held the 12 companies in exemplary order throughout France and I cannot remember a single instance of insubordination.
It was the same in the cadre in Budapest after the collapse. Total chaos emerged. Only the Bosniaks maintained order and protected Hungarian state property. To this end they kept the Hungarian Bolshevik units under guard in the Bosnian barracks. [...]
Formal discipline was not as pronounced as, say, that of the Hungarians. They could click their heels and slap their hands on their rifles or bayonets. But the Bosniak obeyed all orders and carried them out under the most difficult circumstances. By contrast, the Hungarian gave way after the first stiff resistance and during the collapse he was the first person to rid himself of order.
The Bosniak did not think much of saving or rationing ammunition or tins of food. He fought like a true savage. He would shoot as long as there was ammunition and eat as long as there was food. He could not understand any orders to the contrary. But in battle he was never a failure and never left his mates and superiors in the lurch.

Alleged Bloodthirstiness

Some well-meaning foreign officers ascribed to the Bosniaks bloodthirsty attributes they did not really possess. As they are by nature gentle and tame, brutality is not in keeping with their mentality. But I have seen them angry, and then there was no quarter. I would like to depict two such instances.
An enemy rearguard had held its position tenaciously. The platoon commander Leutnant Guido Stipić had to launch a storming attack to take it. When they [the Bosniaks] reached the height, the enemy raised their arms in surrender. Only one of them was holding a grenade and Stipić called on him to drop it. But he threw it directly at Stipić. The grenade tore him apart. The Bosniaks then grew so mad that they killed all 12 men of the enemy rearguard.
The second case is similar.
Our base 'Bektić' [on the Eastern front near the River Ikva], for which we fought day and night, was the scene. The two trenches were only about 3 yards apart. Around noon fire always slackened and then there was a regular ceasefire for about an hour. The Russian sentries and ours occasionally started chatting, only to throw grenades at one another later. The case once happened that a Russian sentry crawled to the exposed edge of a crater, made a sign to our sentry and then jumped into the crater. He climbed up to our sentry and gave him a letter with the request to send it on by post. The Russian soldier was a Pole from the area occupied by us who had written his wife a letter. Of course, we sent the letter on to the addressee after it had passed the censor.
One day, at the time of the ceasefire, a Muschik (Russian) banged on his protective armour plate and shouted 'Hallo Bosniak'. When our sentry carefully moved his head behind the armoured plate, the Russian encouraged him to come further forward. He did so by waving a bottle and shouting 'Vodka'. No sooner had Ahmet Babić looked over the edge of his protective armour plate than he was hit by the deadly bullet. Then I could hardly recognize my gentle Bosniaks, they had become savage beasts. They immediately threw mines and grenades at the Russians. The same night a patrol of volunteers left our trenches, jumped into the Russian ones, killed all the occupants and returned to base 'Bektić', satisfied.

The quotations are taken from the abridged German translation *Mit den Bosniaken im Weltkrieg*, (= Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie 3/2001, Vienna 2001), 3f, 48f, 51.

Corporal at the Age of 14: Elez Dervišević (1902–1990)

Born in Bijeljina in eastern Bosnia in 1902, Elez Dervišević was one of the Bosniak 'legends'. On the outbreak of the war he was attending the first form of the grammar school in Tuzla. At the age of twelve he joined the 'defence corps' formed by Ademaga Mesić. It consisted of about 450 volunteers, mostly teenagers, and was intended to protect eastern Bosnia from a Serbian incursion. His elder brother Mehmedalija was killed by Serbian fire while attempting to cross the River Drina and Elez swore revenge. He helped out in the I Battalion of Infantry Regiment No. 91, stationed in the vicinity, and accompanied it when it was transferred to the Italian front in 1915, where he made himself useful at the casualty station and elsewhere. As a listening post he helped capture three Italians and also served as a courier. At the tender age of 14 he was promoted corporal in front of the assembled men, although he was not even a regular soldier! For his bravery he was decorated with the Bronze and Silver Medals for Bravery, the Military Merit Medal and the Karl Troops' Cross.

When he was finally wounded during the fighting for Mrzli Vrh in 1916 and was sent to hospital in Vienna, Archduchess Isabelle (the socially very committed wife of the army commander Archduke Friedrich, *née* Princess of Croy-Dülmen, 1856-1931) took care of the young Bosniak and enabled him to continue school in Baden. At the same time Elez passed exams at the Cadet Academy in Pressburg (Bratislava). After the end of the war he returned home, where he was a bank employee for a time, then a municipal civil servant in Bijeljina. He finally became an independent trader. After the Second World War he emigrated to Syria and was last a reserve major in the Syrian army. He died in Damascus in 1990.[1] (EAS)

Archives ZIK

The Emperor's youngest Bosniak: the 14-year-old Elez Dervišević on the Isonzo front in 1916, before the wound that sent him to hospital in Vienna.

[1] Werner Schachinger, who could talk to Elez Dervišević personally, wrote a detailed biography, from which this information is taken, *Die Bosniaken kommen! Elitetruppe in der k.u.k. Armee 1879–1918* (Graz-Stuttgart 1989, 2nd ed. 1994), 286–297.

The Conqueror of Monte Meletta: The Linguistic Genius Stevo Duić (1877–1934)

Born in Otočac in Croatia on 17 December 1877 the son of a tax collector, Stevo (Stephan) Duić attended the grammar school and the Infantry Cadet Academy in Karlstadt (Karlovać). In 1896 he was assigned to the Infantry Regiment 'Ferdinand VIII King of Denmark' No. 75 as a Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter*. A *Leutnant* in 1897 and *Oberleutnant* in 1902, the officer always described as excellent (1906: '*an excellent and capable young officer*', 1907: '*excellent as a person and officer, noble in thought, action and appearance, thoroughly masculine*') attended the War Academy from 1902 to 1904 and was promoted *Hauptmann* on the general staff in 1909.[1] Duić spoke German, Croat and Bulgarian and also had a command of French, Russian and Czech. Apart from the sports of gymnastics, fencing and riding, typical of officers, he was also an ardent cyclist and amateur photographer. After 1904 he was the general staff officer of the 10th Mountain Brigade and then attached to the staff of XV Corps after 1909, both of which were in Sarajevo. After field service as a company commander in his Infantry Regiment No. 75 (1912/13), on 1 May 1914 he became chief of staff of the 6th Infantry Division in Salzburg, with which he was sent to the Eastern front after the outbreak of war.

Promoted to *Oberstleutnant* on 1 May 1916, Duić was transferred to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 during the First World War. As commander of the III Battalion and the assault group of the 11th Infantry Brigade, on 7 June 1916 Duić stormed the heavily fortified and defended mountain summit of Monte Meletta-Fior on the Italian southern front. This exploit earned him a high degree of fame. In his memoirs Edmund Glaise von Horstenau wrote that he was '*indeed both a brave and a savage soldier*', whose '*rudeness*' occasionally made life difficult for his divisional commander.[2] Chief of staff of the 42nd Infantry Division after July 1916, he was given command of the recently formed 'Orient Corps' in February 1918. It consisted of four battalions, three of which came from Bosnia, and was intended for deployment in the Middle East. The Orient Corps actually never saw service in the Orient, but was deployed first on the Piave in summer 1918 and then in Albania.

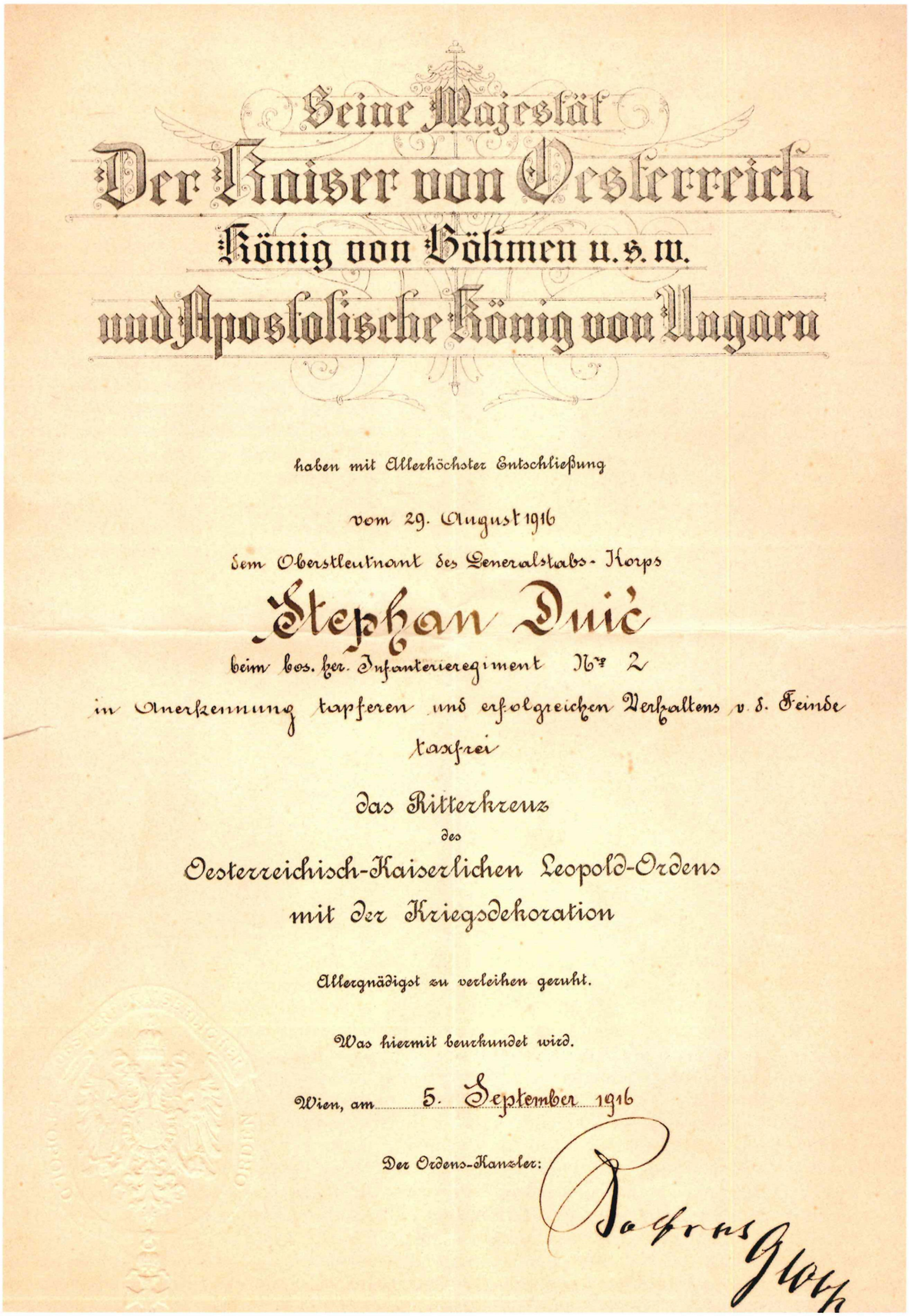
After the war Stevo Duić was one of the leading personalities of the Croatians in exile. He was murdered in Karlovy Vary on 28 September 1934. His son, Dr. Mario Duić (1915-2008) also became an officer, was badly wounded in the fighting for the Fern Pass in 1945 and was finally promoted to general in the Austrian army and the commandant of the National Defence Academy in Vienna. (EAS)

1 Qualification list Stephan Duić (KA, Quall. carton 509).

2 Peter Broucek (ed.), *Ein General im Zwielicht: Die Erinnerungen Edmund Glaises von Horstenau, Vol. 1: K.u.k. Generalstabsoffizier und Historiker* (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 67, Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1980), 306, cf. also 242f, particularly note 363.

Archives ZIK

On 1 May 1916 Stevo Duić was promoted *Oberstleutnant*. In the final year of the war he was the commander of the newly established Orient Corps.



Seine Majestät
Der Kaiser von Oesterreich
König von Böhmen u. s. w.
und Apostolische König von Ungarn

haben mit Allerhöchster Entschließung

vom 29. August 1916

dem Oberstleutnant des Generalstabs-Korps

Stephan Duić

beim bos. her. Infanterieregiment Nr 2

in Anerkennung tapferen und erfolgreichen Verhaltens v. d. Feinde

taxfrei

das Ritterkreuz
des
Oesterreichisch-Kaiserlichen Leopold-Ordens
mit der Kriegsdekoration

Allergnädigst zu verleihen geruht.

Was hiermit beurkundet wird.

Wien, am 5. September 1916

Der Ordens-Kanzler:

Awarding document for the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold awarded to *Oberstleutnant* on the general staff Stevo Duić in September 1916 in recognition of the storming of Monte Meletta-Fior. (ZIK)

With Fez and Machine Gun: Gojkomir Glogovac (1883–1922)

In August 1917, the first awarding ceremony of the Military Maria Theresia Order during the First World War took place. Emperor Franz Joseph wanted to wait till the end of the war before awarding the decoration, but did not live to see it. His successor Karl was more generous with decorations and elevations to the nobility, which earned him the nickname 'Sehadler' (*'Wherever he looks he ennobles people!'*). The photographs of the ceremony show a striking *Hauptmann,* who is not wearing the usual officers' cap, but a fez. He was Gojkomir Glogovac, born in Bilek (Herzegovina) on 25 November 1883 the son of a tax office official. He graduated from the military boarding school for boys in Sarajevo and the Infantry Cadet Academy in Maribor with merit. On 18 August 1904 he was assigned to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in Graz. On 1 November 1906 he was promoted *Leutnant* and on 1 May 1912 *Oberleutnant* and simultaneously transferred to the III Battalion in Banja Luka. In 1914 he was expressly praised for heading NCO training and its *'excellent'* results, but idiosyncrasies like the unauthorized wearing of leather gaiters found expression in his otherwise very good service reports.[1]

On the outbreak of war Glogovac was still in Banja Luka. His III Battalion participated in the campaign against Serbia as part of the 12th Mountain Brigade of the 48th Infantry Division of XV Corps. He commanded the battalion machine gun detachment. On the morning of 26 November 1914, one day after his 31st birthday, he and his detachment were on the height of Bukva, a northern extension of Prostruga planina, between Ljig and Dragoviljska. That day Serbian infantry broke through the 10th Mountain Brigade and threatened the flank of the 12th Mountain Brigade. Glogovac's machine gun detachment, which only consisted of one machine gun (the second one having been jammed since the day before) was on the latter's right wing. In the dense fog the advancing Serbs overlooked the Bosniak machine gun position and were completely surprised by fire from a range of only 100 to 200 paces. With only three men (*Korporal* Mustafa Basić, *Gefreiter* Mustafa Alić and Private Mustafa Mumanović), one MG and five ammunition belts with 250 rounds each the dauntless Glogovac managed to force the Serbs to flee in panic; after the action Austro-Hungarian engineers buried more than 400 Serbian soldiers.[2]

Archives ZIK

The Bosnian Croat Gojkomir Glogovac, already as a recipient of the Military Maria Theresia Order on a painting of 1917.

The action proved the superiority of the relatively new machine gun as a weapon, whose value had been controversial before the war. Anton Baron Lehár, the brother of the famous composer, himself a Knight of the Military Maria Theresia Order and before the war director of studies at the Austro-Hungarian Army School of Gunnery and head of department on the Technical Military Committee, emphasized in his essay *'Nur ein Maschinengewehr'* ('Only One Machine Gun'), published in 1928: *'However, in this case, too, as always in war, the preparation of success lay not just in the working of the machine, but above all in the strong heart of a single man who was able, in the decisive moment, to free himself from the influence of mass psychology, to which the surprised friendly troops had evidently succumbed in the fog. [...] Such a man with rock-solid confidence in his beloved machine gun, but also with a mighty heart, was undoubtedly the brave Oberleutnant Gojkomir Glogovac. Through him the young machine gun arm was already immortalized at the beginning of the First World War in the annals of the highest military decoration of the Austro-Hungarian army, the time-honoured Military Maria Theresia Order'*.[3] With an Imperial decree of 14 August 1917 Glogovac was appointed Knight of the Military Maria Theresia Order. The awarding ceremony took place with Emperor Karl in Villa Wartholz in Reichenau on 17 August 1917. Together with the award, Glogovac was granted a Hungarian barony.[4]

During the course of the war Glogovac distinguished himself by special gallantry on a number of occasions. These included the capture of Monte San Michele on 21 June 1915 and the capture of Monte Meletta-Fior on 7 June 1916.[5] During this attack, led by *Oberstleutnant* Stevo Duić, Glogovac, now a *Hauptmann*, led the assault group. He took it up to the Italian lines practically without losses by leading the assault personally. After breaking into the enemy lines in particular Glogovac performed *'invaluable services'*.[6] All the officers of the III Battalion of the Second Bosniaks had been killed or wounded except for two and the majority of the IV Battalion had been put out of action. Glogovac took the necessary defensive measures and the Italian counter attacks were warded off under his command. For

this action he was awarded the Order of the Iron Crown 3rd Class with War Decorations and Swords.[7]

After action on Monte Zebio and the Isonzo, as of June 1917 Glogovac was posted to the replacement cadre of the regiment in Lebring near Graz and trained machine gun platoons and their crews. In spring 1918 Glogovac was commandant of the assault troop course of the Orient Corps in Belipotok near Belgrade. He took part in the Piave offensive in June 1918 with the Orient Corps and was then in Albania. Apart from the Military Maria Theresia Order and the Order of the Iron Crown 3rd Class with War Decorations and Swords, Glogovac was also awarded the Military Merit Cross 3rd Class with War Decorations and Swords and the Silver and Bronze 'Signum Laudis' with War Decorations and Swords. After the end of the war Glogovac returned home and, like many of his fellow Southern Slav officers, was taken over by the army of the young SHS State.[8] He served as the commander of an MG company in Infantry Regiment No. 1 in Ptuj (Pettau) in Slovenia. When he was to be deployed against his earlier comrades in arms during the fighting in southern Carinthia, he left the Yugoslav army and went first to Graz, then to Hungary. But neither Austria nor Hungary were in a position to take Glogovac into the army and a Croatian legion of exiles was disbanded in 1921. Already in poor health, Glogovac tried to find accommodation in a commercial profession, but died in poverty of tuberculosis in the Red Cross hospital in Budapest on 1 March 1922. (CN)

1 The battalion order can be found in Gojkomir Glogovac' qualification list in the war archives in Vienna.

2 For details cf. Oskar von Hofmann – Gustav von Hubka, *Der Militär-Maria Theresien-Orden – Die Auszeichnungen im Weltkrieg 1914–1918* (Vienna 1943), 115–117.

3 Anton Lehár, Nur ein Maschinengewehr!, in: *Oesterreichische Wehrzeitung*, issue 9 of 2 March 1928, 3.

4 Personal Verordnungsblatt f.d. k.u.k. Heer No. 157 of 17 August 1917.

5 For the capture of Monte Meletta cf. the brochure published by the Department of Education and Culture of the Austrian Defence Ministry *Das bosnisch-herzegovinische Infanterie-Regiment Nr. 2 im Weltkrieg 1914 bis 1918* (Vienna, nd), 38–45.

6 KA: Officers' pay application Gojkomir Glogovac, No. 18.874, ct. 27.

7 Decree of 30 August 1916.

8 István Deák, *Der k.(u.)k. Offizier: 1848–1918* (Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 1991), 252.

Archives MCO

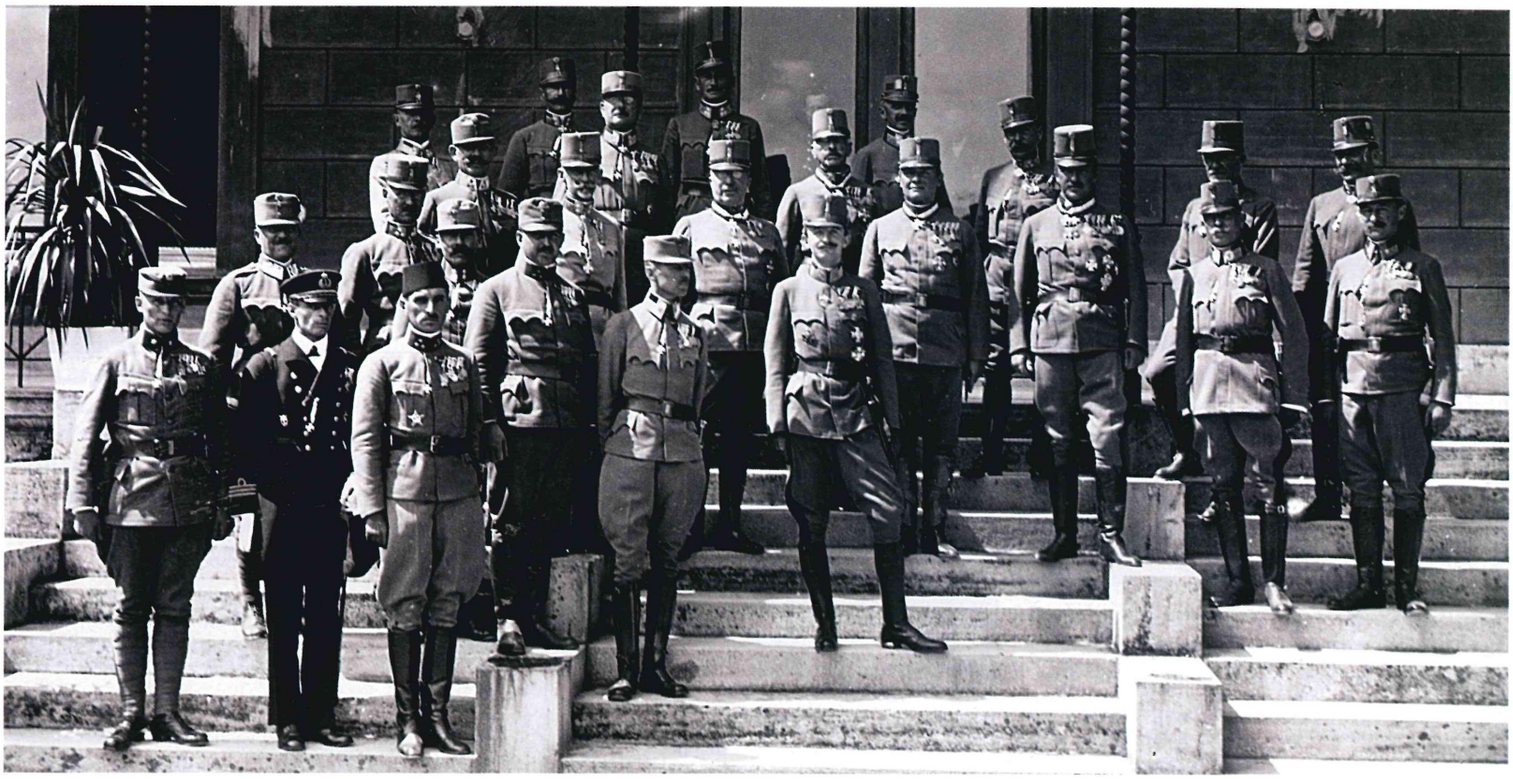
17 August 1917. On the way to the 180th awarding ceremony of the Military Maria Theresia Order in the park of Villa Wartholz in Reichenau (from left to right): *Oberst* Josef Janečka, *Oberst* Otto Ritter Ellison von Nidef, *Leutnant* Arthur Cumin, *Hauptmann* Gojkomir Glogovac, *Oberst* Eduard Hospodarž, *Linienschiffsleutnant* Gottfried von Banfield and Emperor Karl's naval aide-de-camp Emmerich Schonta von Seedank.

Archives ZIK

Emperor Karl conversing during the awarding ceremony. On the terrace the Emperor's children are watching events, on the far right the heir to the throne, Otto.

Archives ZIK

Shortly after the awarding ceremony. Emperor Karl with the men decorated, including *Hauptmann* Gojkomir Glogovac.



Archives MCO

The official group photograph on the steps of Villa Wartholz: *Hauptmann* Gojkomir Glogovac (third from the left), next to the naval aviator *Linienschiffsleutnant* Gottfried von Banfield (second from the left).

Archives ZIK

In the park after the awarding ceremony. Conversation between the recipients of orders and guests (Glogovac eighth from the right).

Writer and Radio Pioneer: Rudolf Henz (1897–1987)

'*I cannot escape from the Bosniaks even after 60 years*' wrote the writer and media manager Rudolf Henz in his autobiography *Fügung und Widerstand*[1] in 1981. Born in Göpfritz an der Wild on 10 May 1897, Henz became enthusiastic about the Bosniaks at a very early age. '*Even as a seven-year-old boy I ran behind the baggy blue trousers for hours during the major manoeuvres in the Waldviertel. Bosniaks, for me they were a strong primal people, the Balkans, mosques and muezzins, Kismet and contempt for death, they were the fez and baggy trousers, cigarettes dangling from the corner of the mouth, assaults with hurrahs and leaps forward, daggers between the teeth and the execution of suicidal orders. They were more savage and always braver and more loyal than the others, they were dreams of the Orient and the surrogate for many travels and stories about Indians*', Henz puts in the mouth of Ferdinand Brunner, his de facto alter ego, the protagonist of his autobiographical novel *Dennoch Mensch* (1935), who revels in memories of his childhood.[2]

In 1906 the family moved to Großweikersdorf in the Weinviertel. As a student Henz attended the archiepiscopal seminary for boys in Hollabrunn and joined the army as a one-year volunteer after leaving certificate on 12 June 1915 and was posted to the 4th Replacement Company of Infantry Regiment No. 84. On 1 October 1915 he changed to the 2nd Replacement Company. During the 'sale of one-year volunteers' shortly before Christmas 1915 Henz managed to be posted to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 and was assigned to its replacement battalion in Budapest on 3 January 1916. His further training took place in Piliszaba near Budapest and at the officers' academy in Pecs (Fünfkirchen). Then there followed three months at the front in the East from the beginning of May until the end of July 1916. On 6 June 1916 Henz experienced sixteen hours of an artillery barrage at the start of the Brusilov offensive on the River Strypa in eastern Galicia. Decorated with the Bronze Medal for Bravery on 19 June 1916, as a reserve *Fähnrich* Henz graduated from the academy course of a year at the k.u.k. Theresian Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt, which, presupposing three months' service at the front, placed course participants on the same footing as regular officers. On 17 August 1917 Rudolf Henz was appointed *Leutnant* and transferred back to the 13th Field Company of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1. After action in Maros-Vásárhely (Targu Mures) in Transylvania until the end of 1917 Henz reported to the VI Battalion of the Second Bosniaks, which was assigned to the Orient Corps in the process of formation. In Belgrade the unit was prepared for its intended deployment in Palestine, but was first deployed against Serbian partisans in April 1918 and then in the battle on the Piave in June. Henz, promoted to *Oberleutnant* on 1 May 1918, distinguished himself by '*excellent and gallant conduct in the face of the enemy*'.[3] On 23 and 24 June 1918 Henz led a platoon of Bosniaks in a counter attack on the Piave Vecchia (not

Archives ZIK

During the Meletta ceremony in the Garrison Church in Graz on 6 June 1985 Dr. Rudolf Henz holds the speech '*in honour of my last commander, Stevo Duić*'.

far from the later holiday resort of Jesolo) and repelled counter attacks by the Italians and members of the Czech Legion. Once the other officers had been killed or wounded, as the senior officer he saved the remnants of his battalion from certain captivity by retreating through an impassable swamp. After almost complete destruction, the remnants of the battalion were 'filled up' and transferred to Albania by sea and land. Henz acted as adjutant to the commander of the Orient Corps, *Oberstleutnant* Stevo Duić, and experienced the last successful offensive of the Central Powers in Fijeri (Fieri) on the Semeni (Seman). Then he was ordered to a machine gun course for company commanders in Tirana. When on 27 September 1918 Henz was awarded the Order of the Iron Crown with War Decorations and Swords for his performance during the battle on the Piave, he had already contracted malaria, which cost thousands of lives both on the lower reaches of the Piave and in Albania in 1918. Henz was lucky. He was evacuated by narrow-gauge railway first to Neu-Antivari (Bar), then by the steamer *'Graz'* to Porto Re (Kraljevica) near Fiume (Rijeka) and finally by rail to Vienna, where he recovered from malaria and experienced the end of the war.[4]

After the war Henz studied German and History of Art in Vienna and became Dr. Phil. in 1923. Henz worked as a writer and journalist and committed himself to Catholic adult education. When the *Radio-Verkehrs AG* (RAVAG, the precursor of Austrian Radio and Television) was founded, his career as a media manager started in 1928. He was appointed to the programme advisory board of the RAVAG and founded the department for 'science' in 1931 and later 'school radio'. As a fellow student of the later chancellor Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss, the Catholic-influenced Henz stood close to him politically and thus became involved in the domestic political conflicts of the interwar years. During the attempted Nazi putsch of July 1934, which cost the chancellor his life, Rudolf Henz was also to be shot (during the raid on the RAVAG, which took place at the same time as the intrusion into the chancellor's office). The German news agency in Vienna even announced his death. On the orders of Chancellor Schuschnigg and under the pseudonym of 'Austriacus' he composed the so-called 'Dollfuss Song' (*'Ihr Jungen, schliesst die Reihen gut'* ['Youngsters, close your ranks']).[5]

After Austria's annexation by Germany, Henz lost all his functions and worked as an insurance agent or as a restorer of church windows. He only served for a short time on the staff of 6th Army in 1939. In 1945 he was appointed as programme director to the new Austrian Radio (today's ORF), a position he held until 1957. He played a considerable role in the introduction of television in Austria in 1955.[6]

In addition, Henz was extensively active in the field of literature. From 1950 to 1952 he edited the literary periodical *Dichtung der Gegenwart* and from 1955 on the journal *Wort in der Zeit*. From 1967 to 1980 Rudolf Henz was president of the Austrian Art Senate. As a Catholic layman, in 1947 he founded the Viennese and in 1948 the Austrian *'Katholische Aktion'* and was President of the Austrian Catholic Convention in 1952. As one of the last surviving Bosniak officers, Rudolf Henz participated in the Meletta ceremonies in Graz in the 1980s and last spoke in the former garrison church in Graz on 6 June 1985 *'in honour of my last commander, Stevo Duić, and as his last adjutant'*.[7] Rudolf Henz died, almost 90, in Vienna on 12 February 1987. For his comprehensive work he was also awarded the Grand State Prize for Literature, the Grand Decoration of Honour of the Republic of Austria and the Austrian Decoration of Honour for Science and Art. (CN)

1 Rudolf Henz, *Fügung und Widerstand: eine Autobiographie* (Graz 1981), 68.

2 Rudolf Henz, *Dennoch Mensch: Ein Roman von Krieg und Liebe* (Salzburg 1935), 35.

3 KA: Officers' payment application Rudolf Henz, No. 267.635, ct. 354.

4 KA, main personnel file Rudolf Henz.

5 According to his own statements, on 31 January 1919 Rudolf Henz was transferred to the reserve (Infantry Regiment No. 49) as an *Oberleutnant* with the one-time severance payment of 3,397 crowns and 25 heller. Letter by Rudolf Henz to Dr. Peter Diem of 2 April 1986, on www.peter-diem.at/Lieder/Texte/Wessel_Dollfuss.pdf; seen on 2 August 2006.

6 Cf. also the radio portrait 'Rudolf Henz – Ein Radiopionier – Das Fernsehen kommt' of 23 May 2004 (www.orf.at/oe1; seen on 3 June 2006).

7 Henz, *Fügung und Widerstand*, 71; cf. Schachinger, *Die Bosniaken kommen!*, 249.

In his autobiography Fügung und Widerstand Rudolf Henz also wrote about his service with the Bosniaks:

I was never [...] garrisoned in Mostar or Sarajevo, I do not know the Bosniaks as civilians, but I know them thoroughly from the First Regiment, then, after the academy, from the Sixth Battalion of the Second Regiment as part of the recently formed Orient Corps intended for Palestine, which ended up after the battle on the Piave not in Palestine, but in Albania.

The instructors in Camp Piliszaba near Budapest were strict, but not sadistic grinders like the one-year-volunteer NCOs, usually graduates of commercial school, in the 84th Regiment. Every one-year volunteer the future officer. There was not a platoon commander who was not overbearing because of his three celluloid stars. Then the fellows in the trenches before the attack! Spoons and knives in their right gaiters, just like their reputation throughout the army and even more feared by the Italians, who were more afraid of the 'Orientali, Orientali' than the whole Austrian artillery. The fellows shouting, hopping and dancing during the attack, spoons still in their gaiters, but knives in their mouths, certainly an exotic sight. I never caught anyone slitting a throat. And the many rumours about the Momci [as the Bosniaks were called] went round in camps, trenches and barracks, rumours about their special sense of fair treatment, about officers they had saved, about the storming of Monte Meletta on 6 June 1916 under Oberstleutnant on the general staff Stevo Duić and numerous exploits in the east and south. Rumours also about the hotpot uneatable for our palate. What an art it was to concoct that hotpot out of the respectable ration of flour, groats, rice, cornflour, beef, potatoes, beef dripping and all available vegetables that was only welcomed with enthusiasm when the spoon stood rigid in the mess kit.'

The Most Senior Muslim Officer: Mulo Ibruljević (born 1871)

Born in Ljubuški in Herzegovina on 17 September 1871 the son of a major in the Ottoman army, Mulo Ibruljević attended the military boarding school for boys in Sarajevo and graduated from the Infantry Cadet Academy in Vienna with distinction. He thus represents a paradigm for the integration of the former Ottoman ruling class. In 1889 Ibruljević volunteered for the Austro-Hungarian army and began his military career in the Infantry Regiments 'Freiherr von Ramberg' No. 96 (Temesvar), 'Archduke Rainer' No. 59 (Salzburg) and No. 79 (Otočać). In 1897 he was posted as an *Oberleutnant* to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in Graz and subsequently to Regiment No. 1 in Vienna. In 1906 a *Hauptmann* and in 1915 a *Major*, at the end of the First World War Ibruljević was an *Oberstleutnant*. In the course of the war he was decorated many times and described as an '*excellent, capable and experienced field-grade officer who has always displayed exemplary and extremely gallant conduct and success*'. During the First World War he acted as a battalion and, for a short time, from 4 to 29 October 1916, provisional regimental commander. This was the time of trench warfare near Lawykowce Kominchy. For his conduct during the fighting at Vesterowce on 10 and 11 August 1916 he was awarded the Order of the Iron Crown 3rd Class with War Decorations. In addition, he was awarded the Military Merit Cross 3rd Class, also with War Decorations, and the Bronze and Silver Military Merit Medals on the ribbon of the Military Merit Cross ('Signum Laudis').[1] As *Oberstleutnant*, Mulo Ibruljević was the most senior Muslim officer of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops. (CN)

[1] *Ranglisten des kaiserlichen und königlichen Heeres 1918* (Vienna: Kriegsministerium, 1918), 869; for his career cf. also KA: Officers' payment application Mulo Ibruljević, No. 162.476, carton 192.

Archives FR

Mulo Ibruljević (second from the left with cigarette) with the rank of *Major* and surrounded by the officers of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 on the Russian front in 1916. Note the different patterns of fez.

Filmmaker and Theatre Director: Robert Michel (1876–1957)

'*Above all Robert Michel is the classic discoverer of the enchanting Slav-Oriental world that was at home in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the herald of the former Austro-Hungarian province, knowledge of which he conveyed to the world at large in his inimitable cultural vignettes*', Oskar Regele wrote about the officer and poet in 1951.[1] Of all the officers who wrote literary memoirs about their service in Bosnia and Herzegovina Robert Michel has provided the broadest and most demanding oeuvre. Michel masterly elaborated his impressions of the country and its people, but especially of the Bosniaks, in a series of novels, plays, novellas and essays.

Robert Michel was born on the farm of Chaběric in the Bohemian district of Kuttenberg (Kutna Gora) on 24 February 1876 the son of an estate manager.[2] Michel's mother, *née* Štastná, was Czech and the poet grew up bilingual.[3] After completing the junior school of the German grammar school in Prague, Michel entered the Infantry Cadet Academy in 1890, which he completed with distinction. On 18 August 1894 he was assigned to the Infantry Regiment No. 79 (Otačač) as a Cadet *Offiziersstellvertreter* and then to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 in Vienna. Promoted to *Oberleutnant* on 1 November 1899, Michel remained with the Bosniaks until February 1900: in Vienna until September 1898, then as quartermaster officer in Mostar and Ljubuški. In Vienna he found patrons and friends for his first literary experiments such as Leopold Andrian (Leopold Freiherr Ferdinand von Andrian zu Werburg)[4] and Hugo von Hofmannsthal.[5] In 1898 Hermann Bahr published Michel's first long short story *Osmanbegović*, for which he had been inspired by experiences with the Bosnian Muslims of his regiment, in the weekly *Die Zeit*. In his literary oeuvre Michel extensively treated the impressions of a '*European Orient*' gained in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[6] After February 1900 Michel taught German and French at the Infantry Cadet Acad-

Archives CN

Poet and officer Robert Michel as *Hauptmann* in 4th *Kaiserjäger* Regiment. From 1895 to 1900 and from 1907 to 1909 he served in Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4 in Vienna and Bosnia. His literary heritage also constitutes a memorial to the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

emy in Innsbruck. This was also the time he became acquainted with the man of letters Ludwig von Ficker, who published the cultural journal *Der Brenner* after 1910. Once again on the strength of the Fourth Bosniaks in Mostar in November 1907, Michel was promoted *Hauptmann* on 1 May 1910 and served as a company commander in the IV Battalion of Infantry Regiment No. 90 in Ravarŭska. His first stage performance took place the same year: the Bosnian drama *Mejrima* was given its world premiere at the German Theatre in Prague.

In 1912 Robert Michel was assigned as a librarian to the war archives in Vienna and after the outbreak of the war as head of department and censor to the war press department for foreign-language correspondents. At the end of 1914 he was posted as a military advisor to the mission of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry for the occupied provinces in Poland and Galicia, with its headquarters first in Cracow and later in Warsaw.[7] In March 1917 Robert Michel volunteered for duty at the front and was assigned to the 4th Regiment of the Tyrolean *Kaiserjäger* on 12 April 1917. Promoted *Major* on 1 August 1917, he commanded alternating companies in the sectors Pasubio West and Pasubio East. He insisted on commanding a company at the front and changed companies whenever one was moved to reserve positions. Transferred to Infantry Regiment No. 84, the second Viennese regiment, at the beginning of 1918, Army Supreme Command gave him the assignment to lead a film team in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In June 1918 he made the films *Die Wila der Narenta* and *The Treasure Seeker of Blagaj*. The films, which were commissioned by the War Press Department, were intended to record a '*disappearing world*', apart from their function as propaganda.[8] For his achievements Michel was decorated with the Knights' Cross of the Franz Joseph Order with War Decorations.

When Leopold Andrian was appointed general director of the court theatres in April 1918, Robert Michel followed the call to the *Hofburgtheater*, which he was to run in a three-man council together with Hermann Bahr and the actor Max Devrient. After the collapse of the monarchy Robert Michel ended his career as an officer and lived in Vienna as a freelance writer. In 1919 he wrote the regimental history of Infantry Regiment No. 84 for its veterans' association.[9] Michel also supervised different film projects. In 1926 he was awarded the Prize of the City of Vienna for Literature and from 1933 to 1946 he ran a distribution company for features placing the works of Austrian and German writers in newspapers and journals. In 1951 he was awarded the Medal of Honour of the City of Vienna and the title of 'Professor'.[10] Michel died in Vienna in 1957 and is buried on the cemetery in Grinzing. Besides Franz Karl Ginzkey (1871-1963) and Rudolf Hans Bartsch (1873-1952), he was one of the three most successful professional officers and men of letters of his generation and is today an Austrian author of the 20th century who 'still has to be discovered'.[11] (CN)

A Letter by Recruit Mustajbegović

'Dear Halil,

In your letter you ask me for news. Well, God knows, here in Vienna a lot, I could even say everything, is new to me. However, to judge by your description, as regards drill Vienna does not seem to differ much from Mostar. We recruits in Vienna also do all the exercises you describe. So I won't write any more about drill. Otherwise Vienna is very different to Mostar. The houses are all very high. You can also see high houses in Mostar; you must pick out the highest and multiply it by two, then you will get an idea of a house in Vienna. In every house people live six to eight times on top of one another. For this reason there are many more people on the streets than at home in Mostar. Of course, a lot of carts and automobiles drive around. But I have seen no pack animals or donkeys, nor any cattle. Something on the street would certainly surprise you. There are little wagons on rails that are not pulled by an engine. They are said to be powered by a mysterious energy called electricity. Our sergeant once explained the energy, but nobody understood. But the most incredible thing is that the energy is also used in street lights just like oil or petroleum. The light is so hot that the wick has to be made of wire. They shine so brightly that the streets are almost as bright in the evening as in daytime. But they are also as numerous as the lights on the minarets during Ramazan [= Ramadan, the Islamic fast].

Yesterday we were allowed to go out for the first time. I went out with Aliduvnjak, an old soldier from our company. I won't be able to go out alone for a long time. I will come to grips with the jungle of streets in the course of time. But whether I will ever be able to distinguish between the many uniforms you have to salute and the many you don't have to salute, I just do not know.

Aliduvnjak first took me to the so-called Prater the old guys talk about so much. It is difficult to explain what the Prater is. It is really one big garden with little houses strewn around. When I first got there, I could not make out anything but a terrible noise and a shamble of countless people running around. It was like the time my father first took me to the čaršija (bazaar). At that time I could not make out anything either in the general commotion and noise. It was only when my father took me to a halvedžija [confectioner's] and I saw the many goodies that I realized there was something else apart from noise and jostling. That's how I felt in the Prater. Aliduvnjak took me to the different huts in which the strangest amusements could be bought. But first I was hesitant about buying any of these amusements. It was only at the merry-go-round that I gave in to Aliduvnjak's urging and took part in the fun. It was a caravan of horses going around in circles. But the horses were made of

wood and were turned very quickly in circles on a solid base. It was all accompanied by very loud music you didn't know where it came from. I got on a horse and it started to turn. At first I felt as if the horse wanted to fly into the air with me, but then my head felt so dizzy that I had to hang on to the horse's neck so as not to fall off. When I got off, my head kept spinning for a long while.

After the trip to the Prater, Aliduvnjak took me to a theatre. It's again difficult to explain what that is. Imagine a house that's even bigger inside than the Karadžosbeg Mosque. There are nothing but seats in it. At the bottom hundreds of people are sitting and around the walls there are countless little rooms like cages and there are hundreds of people sitting there as well. Then a large gate opens and you look into a fairytale country. There they sing and play music. Finally a whole lot of girls come, so many of them as you never see otherwise. All of them have naked legs and up top they are as open as the peasant women in the fields. And they start dancing, tossing their arms and legs in the air and they dance more and more wildly until the spectators feel quite hot. Then the big gate closes again and the fairytale is over. But the spectators start clapping. Then the gate opens again. The girls appear once more and the spectators go mad. They all stretch out their hands and clap and some of them jump up out of their seats. But nobody can get over there because a deep ditch is built in front of the gate. The musicians play in the ditch. And the people in the cages cannot get out either. And then the gate closes again.

Have you heard that our regiment is to be transferred from Vienna to Trieste in the spring? Trieste is a town on the same sea that starts at the mouth of the Narenta. I have never seen the sea, just like you. When you go to the Narenta, imagine the other bank isn't there, nor are the houses with their gardens or the Hum and all the other mountains. Instead, think of nothing but water, so much that your eyes cannot take it all in. That's what it would be like if Mostar were on the sea. On the parade ground recently I overheard a conversation between our sergeant and Corporal Rezagić about this transfer. The sergeant said that duty in a town by the sea had to be easier as half the space of the environs of the garrison is unsuitable for exercises because of the water. Then Rezagić said it would be good if Vienna were on the sea. You know, Rezagić is a person I have the greatest respect for. I would sooner disobey a general than him. At home he is said to be just a poor kmet [= peasant], but in uniform he looks like a hero. That's the way the heroes in our songs must have looked. He speaks like a swallow, but he looks like a falcon. Then with his finger he showed the sergeant a line over the whole town where the sea would have to begin. His gestures were so authoritative that I was alarmed at the first moment; for the Schmelz, our drill ground, where we were just standing, was to be under water in his opinion. Regards to your father and regards to your brothers. And may God turn everything for the better.

Your friend Izzet.'

Source: Robert Michel, *Fahrten in den Reichslanden* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1912), 47–51.

Robert Michel – A selection of works with references to Bosnia:

Osmanbegović, short story (1898)
Die Verhüllte, novellas (1907)
Mostar, with photographs by Wilhelm Wiener (1909)
Mejrima, play (1910)
Fahrten in den Reichslanden, pictures and sketches from Bosnia and Herzegovina (1912)
Die Häuser an der Džamija, novel (1913)
Auf der Südostbastion unseres Reiches (1915)
Der weisse und der schwarze Beg, comedy (1930; premiere at the *Akademietheater*)
Halbmond über der Narenta, stories from Bosnia and Herzegovina (1940)
Die Wila, novel (1949)

1 Oskar Regele (1890-1969) headed the war archives from 1945 to 1954 and the state archives in 1955. From 1952 to 1960 he was president of the Austrian Commission for Military History.

2 Qualification list Robert Michel (KA: Quall., ct. 2046).

3 For an estimation of him as a poet: manuscript by Oskar Regele, Robert Michel on his 75th birthday, on 24 February 1951 (Ibid., Fasc. 1968).

4 For Andrian cf. Ursula Prutsch – Klaus Zeyringer (eds.), *Leopold von Andrian (1875-1951): Korrespondenzen, Notizen, Essays, Berichte* (Vienna 2003).

5 Cf. Riccardo Concetti, Muslimische Landschaften – Hugo von Hofmannsthals Auseinandersetzung mit der Prosa Robert Michels, in: *Kakanien revisited* (http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/RConcetti1; seen on 12 February 2007).

6 Qualification list Robert Michel (KA: Quall., ct. 2046), memoir written by Robert Michel himself, page 1.

7 The occupied regions – in this case Russian Poland – were governed by military administrations, to which officials of the foreign ministry (with its full name it was called k.u.k. Ministry of the k.u.k. House and External Affairs) were assigned. Cf. the study by Tamara Scheer on military administrations in the First World War, due to be published in the near future.

8 Riccardo Concetti, Mit der Kodak unterwegs in der Herzegowina oder der moderne Autor als Reiseleiter?, in: *Kakanien revisited* (http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/RConcetti2.pdf; seen on 17 February 2007), page 7.

9 Robert Michel – Robert Wohl, *Das Vierundachtzigerbuch* (Vienna 1919).

10 Further prizes awarded to the poet Michel, who was famous above all for his landscape descriptions, included the Kleist Prize for the novel *Die Häuser an der Džamija*, the Adalbert Stifter Prize for *Jesus im Böhmerwald* and in 1934 the State Prize of the Czechoslovak Republic for German Literature in Bohemia for *Die Burg der Frauen*, a novel dealing with the legends of Libussa and Primislaus.

11 Hans Heinz Hahnl, *Hofräte, Revoluzzer, Hungerleider: Vierzig verschollene österreichische Literaten* (Vienna 1990), 152–157.

Two Brothers as *Oberst* in the Bosniaks: Ivo Ritter von Mihailić (born 1863)

From August 1915 until January 1918 Ivo Ritter von Mihailić, born in 1863, commanded the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. The son of a *Hauptmann* in the Austro-Hungarian army, he graduated from the Theresian Military Academy in 1886 with merit and was assigned to the k.u.k. Infantry Regiment No. 43. As an *Oberleutnant* (1 May 1890) and *Hauptmann* (1 May 1897) he taught at the Infantry Cadet Academy in Temesvar and Kamenitz (1891-1897). After September 1897 he served as a company commander in Infantry Regiment No. 38 and was praised with '*Imperial satisfaction*' as a sub-detachment commander in 1907.[1] As an *Oberst* he became the regimental commander of the Second Bosniaks in 1915. (CN)

1 KA: Qualification lists, carton 2054.

Milivoj Ritter von Mihailić (born 1865)

Ivo's brother Milivoj, born in 1865, graduated from the Infantry Cadet Academy in Temesvar with merit in 1885 and after 1 December 1890 served as a *Leutnant* in Infantry Regiment No. 43. As an *Oberleutnant* (1 May 1895) and *Hauptmann* (1 November 1900 [2nd Class] and 1 May 1904 [1st Class]) he was a company commander and sub-detachment commander in the replacement battalion cadre. During the First World War Milivoj von Mihailić was transferred to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3 as an *Oberstleutnant*. At the end of the war he was an *Oberst*. (CN)

Kaiserjäger and Bosniak: *Major* Dušan Mirković (born 1874)

Dušan Mirković was the third Serbian Orthodox officer to command a Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* battalion. He commanded *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 4 from September till November 1918.[1]

Dušan Mirković was born in Varaždin in Croatia in 1874. He passed the leaving certificate with merit at the secondary school in Semlin.[2] Mirković joined the Austro-Hungarian army as a one-year volunteer on 30 September 1894, attended the one-year volunteer school of the 1st Regiment of the Tyrolean *Kaiserjäger* in 1894/95, passed the reserve officers' examination with distinction and passed the supplementary examination for professional officers in Innsbruck with merit in 1897.

He served as a *Leutnant* (1 November 1898), *Oberleutnant* (1 May 1905) and *Hauptmann* (1 May 1912) in different functions with the *Kaiserjäger*. In 1913 he was transferred to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion and after 1916 he was attached to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3. On 1 February 1918 Mirković was promoted *Major* and assumed command of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 4 in September 1918. The decorations the Serbian officer was awarded included the Order of the Iron Crown 3rd Class and the Silver Military Merit Medal, both with War Decorations. (CN)

1 Georg Zivkovic, *Regimentsinhaber und -kommandanten des k.u.k. Heeres und der k.k. Landwehr 1898 bis 1918* (Vienna 1977), 82.

2 Qualification list Mirković (KA: Quall., ct. 2076).

Telegraph Expert in Pula: Slavoljub von Milojević (born 1873)

Oberstleutnant Slavoljub von Milojević was the second Serbian Orthodox officer to command a Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* battalion. In February 1916 Milojević assumed command of *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 6, which he held until February 1918. From this battalion (and the IV and V Battalions of the Second Bosniaks) the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 6 was formed in 1918, which Milojević provisionally commanded in July and August 1918.[1]

Milojević, who was born in Vrbovo, Slavonia, in 1873, was the son of a retired *Oberst* and came from a family of Austrian officers. He graduated from the military grammar school with merit and from the Technical Military Academy in Vienna with distinction.[2] In 1894 Milojević joined the Railway and Telegraph Regiment and served there as the regimental supply and depot officer as well as ordnance officer and company commander. He was promoted to *Oberleutnant* in 1898 and to *Hauptmann* in 1908. In 1912 Milojević was appointed commandant of the Fortress Telegraph School in Pula. From December 1912 until July 1913 he acted as the telegraph expert in the Army Inspectorate in Sarajevo. The commandant of the naval base, *Admiral* Ripper, expressed to him a tribute praising his work in Pula. Milojević was promoted *Major* on 1 November 1916 and *Oberstleutnant* on 1 January 1918. Slavoljub Milojević' brother Milan was also an officer, finally a *Major* (promotion 1 February 1918) in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 4. (CN)

1 Georg Zivkovic, *Regimentsinhaber und -kommandanten des k.u.k. Heeres und der k.k. Landwehr 1898 bis 1918* (Vienna 1977), 80.

2 Qualification list Milojević (KA: Quall., ct. 2071).

Archives EAS

Battalion staff of Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion No. 6 on 26 August 1917. In the centre, the commander Slavojub von Milojević. His fez has the *Feldjäger* hat insignia.

Austrian President: Dr. Adolf Schärf (1890–1965)

In the collection of old photographs and documents from the stocks of tradition of Austrian Landwehr Cadre Regiment No. 54, stored in the depots of the Armed Forces Command Headquarters in Graz, there is a rather blurred photograph of a young officer in the First World War. Older persons will be well acquainted with the man's face, albeit photographed a few decades later. His portrait hung on the wall of many government offices and classrooms: President Dr. Adolf Schärf.

Born in Nikolsburg (today Mikulov in the Czech Republic) on 20 April 1890, Adolf Schärf moved with his family to Vienna and financed grammar school and then his law studies by giving private lessons. In 1914 he became a doctor of law and immediately had to go to war. From March till October 1915 he served in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2 in Graz. In October 1915 he was posted to the k.u.k. Infantry Regiment No. 87 in Cilli (Celje in Slovenia), where

Archives CN

From March to October 1915 Dr. Adolf Schärf served in Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 2. From May until August 1915 he attended the one-year volunteer school in Windisch Feistritz – here together with his fellow students.

he was appointed reserve *Leutnant* on 1 August 1916. For his performance he was awarded the Bronze Military Merit Medal with Swords.

His early and constant commitment to the Social Democratic Youth Movement presaged his future career. After the end of the war he worked as secretary to the Social Democratic Presidents of the National Assembly Karl Seitz, Matthias Eldersch and Karl Renner. From 1933 to 1934 he was a member of the Federal Council and in the course of the persecution of Social Democrats was first arrested in the Corporate State in 1934, then again in 1938 and 1944 in the Third Reich. After the Second World War he performed the offices of chairman of the new Socialist Party of Austria and vice chancellor. In 1957 and again in 1963 he was elected Austrian President. He died in Vienna on 28 February 1965. (EAS)

The later Austrian President Dr. Adolf Schärf's memories of his service with the Second Bosniaks:

'I now reported to the 2nd Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment, whose cadre was stationed in Graz. If I had to leave Vienna, then I wanted to be close to the family of my fiancée. On 26 March 1915 I was transferred to Graz. The company I was attached to was billeted in the Dominican Barracks. […] Of course, I now endeavoured to familiarize myself with the Croatian language so as to be able to talk to the soldiers of the regiment. After some time I was posted to a 'preparatory reserve officers' school' in Graz, then on 10 May 1915 to the reserve officers' school of III Corps that included units from Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, the coastland and Trieste. […]

At the end of August I was sent back from the school to the Bosniaks in Graz. I was quickly appointed Feldwebel Cadet Candidate. I felt very at home among the Bosniaks, some of them Mohammedans. But the replacement battalion was transferred away from Graz to a Nissen hut camp in Lebring.

There I could no longer live privately. I lived among the Bosniaks and saw many interesting things close up. The command language was German, but as the enlisted personnel could not be expected to understand or learn this German, every order was first said in German and then in Croatian. Only a few soldiers could read and write. The medical examination for military service had become so routine that the commission was content to declare the men fit or unfit after their first impression and the men did not even have to take off their clothes. For this reason sometimes much too young and often much too old men were called up to the army. Daily hygiene consisted of washing your hands and your face. I once noticed a recruit whose blouse was particularly tight. I said his neck was dirty (which could have been said about most of the soldiers), he had better have a wash. Then I noticed that the soldier was a girl who had joined the army so that her beloved younger brother would not be alone. The other soldiers certainly knew, but they all stuck together against alien NCOs and officers.

Bosnia and Herzegovina had merely been occupied by Austria in 1878 and were only annexed in 1908. Evidently in remote villages word had not got around that the ruler was no longer the Sultan, but the Austrian Emperor. It was one of the assignments of recruit training to make the men acquainted with this fact. You usually began by asking the man what was most precious to him in the world, to which you often heard the reply: 'my sheep' or 'my goats'. It took a lot of patience to teach the men that father and mother and brothers and sisters were more precious than sheep or goats. It was one step from the parents to the ruler. If the recruit answered the question 'Who are you prepared to shed your blood for?' with 'For His Majesty Emperor Franz Josef I', then civic education had been successfully concluded.

During an inspection by a senior officer, an Oberst, a misfortune happened to me. With a wicked look at me the recruit replied to the crucial question with the words: 'I am prepared to shed my blood for my supreme lord, the Sultan in Constantinople'.

Well, life in the huts, living together with the Bosniaks, afforded many insights into the souls of the men I went to the field with.'

Source: Adolf Schärf, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna 1963), 29–31..

Battalion Commander and Riding Instructor: Wladimir Terbojević (1865–1914)

The Serbian Orthodox *Oberstleutnant* Wladimir Terbojević from Lipovćani in the district of Belovar in Croatia was commander of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion after 4 April 1914. After attending the military junior school in Köszeg (Güns) in Hungary, the son of a *Hauptmann* in the Austro-Hungarian army attended military senior school and the Theresian Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt from 1883 to 1886, graduating with merit.[1] He was posted to the Infantry Regiment No. 63, where he served until 1900, also as battalion adjutant, and from 1901 to 1908 he was with the Infantry Regiment No. 6, acting, among other things, as a company commander and the commandant of the one-year volunteer school. In 1910 staff officer responsible for musketry and ordnance in the Infantry Regiment No. 72, from January until May 1913 he taught at the Infantry Equitation School (riding school for infantry officers). Until 31 October he served as the staff officer for musketry and ordnance in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 3, was promoted *Oberstleutnant* on 1 November 1913 and assumed command of the IV Field Battalion of the regiment. In April 1914 he became commander of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion.

During his career as an officer Terbojević was given excellent reports by his superiors, commended several times and was adjudged to be '*eminently suitable as a regimental commander*'. But he was already killed on 30 August 1914 at the head of his battalion on the Russian theatre. His interim successor, *Hauptmann* Ludwig Budicky, was also killed within the following ten days. (CN)

Archives CN

***Oberstleutnant* Wladimir Terbojević after being promoted to the command of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* Battalion in April 1914. He was already killed at the head of the battalion on the Eastern front on 30 August 1914.**

[1] Qualification list Terbojević (KA: Quall., ct. 3480).

The Hero of Plava: Stanislav Turudija (1870–1937)

Orthodox or Serbian officers played important roles as the commanders of some Bosnian-Herzegovinian units. However, most of them did not hail from Bosnia, but from the old military frontier. Three of them commanded Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Feldjäger* battalions. The most famous and senior Serbian officer to come from Bosnia himself was *Oberstleutnant* Stanislav Turudija ('the hero of Plava'). But he did not serve in the Bosniaks, but in a k.u.k. infantry regiment.

During the 6th Battle of the Isonzo, Turudija and the II Battalion of Infantry Regiment No. 22 were given orders to counter attack Monte Sabatino, which had been taken by the Italians on 6 August 1916, from the direction of Görz (Gorizia). The battalion fought against an almost eightfold numerical superiority for 16 hours, tied down a reinforced Italian division and blocked its way to the Isonzo. Once the last ammunition had been exhausted, the battalion was cut off and taken prisoner.[1]

Adventurous rumours centred on Turudija, who was notorious for his often gruff manners and penchant for alcohol. In captivity he is said to have passed on confidential information to the Italians, as he had been given preferential treatment because of his bravery. But there was no evidence. After the end of the war Turudija returned to Bosnia in 1919, but seems not to have coped with civilian life. In 1933 he hired on as an unskilled worker in the ammunition factory in Kragujevac and took on odd jobs as a farm labourer in Vardar banate after 1935. He finally died in October 1937.[2] After his death a formal apology to Turudija was published in the *Österreichische Wehrzeitung* in December 1937 to '*save the honour of a deserving officer who has already walked his path of thorns on Earth*'.[3] (CN)

Archives CN

Stanislav Turudija from Bosnia as a *Major* in Infantry Regiment No. 22, recruited in Dalmatia. Until he was taken prisoner in 1916, during the war he was twice promoted under exceptional circumstances. He had the reputation for being daredevil and foolhardy and was very popular among his subordinates.

1 Gustav v. Hubka, Das Bataillon Turudija in der 6. Isonzoschlacht, special print of the *Militärwissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen* (September 1937); *Österreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg* (Vienna, 1930–38), Vol. V, 67.

2 Marko Simić, *Auf den Spuren der Isonzofront* (Klagenfurt 2004), 35, states that after 1918 he was taken over by the army of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and served in Ljubljana and Kragujevac. The date of his death specified by Simić, 10 December 1937, cannot be correct, as an obituary had already been published in the *Österreichische Wehrzeitung* a week before.

3 *Österreichische Wehrzeitung*, issue 49, 3 December 1937, 2f.

Glossary

Glossary A-Z

Adjustierung: Collective term for uniform and individual soldier's equipment.

Allerhöchste Entschließung: Imperial decree

Allerhöchster Namenszug: Initials of ruler ('FJI' for Emperor Franz Joseph I, 'K' for Emperor Karl) worn on various items, usually embroidered or as metal insignia.

Alluntertänigster Vortrag: Submission of an application for an imperial decree by the appropriate minister.

Aufschlag: Contrasting facing on the cuff or skirt of the tunic. In the 18th century this was simply the lining visible when the garment was turned back.

Distinktionen: Insignia of rank. In the k.u.k. Army, from the mid 19th century, these took the form of six-pointed stars worn on the collar.

Dzube: A dark blue coat worn, to below the knee, by military Imams (see Imam) and based on the Turkish Kaftan.

Egalisierung: Collective name for the colours shown on the collar, cuffs, piping, shoulder Wülste, etc. The term derives from the fact that the lining of the uniform was once visible in the turned-back collar, cuff etc. In the k.u.k. infantry and dragoons the Egalisierungsfarbe differed from regiment to regiment , otherwise the colour represented the branch of arms (e.g. red for the artillery, green for Jäger etc.). The equivalent of today's branch-of-service colours.

Feldbinde: Originally, before uniforms were introduced, this was a cloth sash worn over the shoulder or at the waist for identification during battle. It later developed into officers' service insignia. In the k.u.k. Army the golden-yellow field sash with black threads was worn around the waist; Ordinance officers and adjutants wore the sash over the shoulder.

Feldzeichen: In the k.u.k. Army this was a sprig of green oak leaves or pine, worn on the left of the headgear. Like the Feldbinde it was born out of the necessity to distinguish friend from foe on the battlefield. Today the term applies to flags, standards and ceremonial bugles.

Ferman: A decree or order from the Ottoman governance.

Hohe Pforte ('Pforte' or gate for short): Name of the Ottoman governance.

Imam: Prayer leader for ritual prayers in mosques. Means literally: 'leader' or 'example'. An Imam therefore has a different function than a Catholic or Protestant priest but still fulfils an important role in the Muslim faith. The Austro-Hungarian administration took this into account, employing a number of military Imams for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops.

Jatla: The alizarin-red collar of the cloth coat (see Dzube) worn by the Imams

Jecerma: A blue waistcoat, with a row of 13 gold-plated, ball-shaped, smooth metal buttons, worn under the Imams' cloth coat (see Dzube). Completed the Imams' uniform.

Kartusche: Term adapted from the French cartouche (= container, cartridge) for the cartridge pouch carried by cavalry and mounted artillery, which developed from a practical utility object to one of decoration and rank distinction (like the field sash worn by officers with the foot troops). Worn in the k.u.k. Army on the Kartuschenriemen, over the left shoulder.

Kragen mit Kapuze: 'collar with hood'. A light garment to protect against rain, used in the k.u.k. Army after 1907. The 'collar' was actually a knee-length cape made of pike grey cloth, which formed a three-quarter circle when laid flat.

Kuppel (Koppel): Belt and straps used for carrying sword.

Lampassen: Broad, usually coloured, band of fabric stitched onto or next to the side seams of the uniform trousers. The word Lampas comes from France, where it is used to describe a heavy silk or damask cloth.

Mufti: A jurist of the Muslim faith appointed by the authorities to advise Muslims in leading a devout life according to the Koran, and if necessary to give a professional opinion in questions of religious law.

Opanken: Shoes without heels, which had a turned-up pointed toe, often beak-shaped, and the shaft bound onto the sole.

Pakfong: An alloy of copper, nickel and iron, similar to white-copper, which shines like silver but doesn't tarnish.

Pantalons: Long straight trousers (as different to knee breeches or long breeches). The term comes form the Italian or French ('reaching to the heel')

Paroli: Coloured pieces of cloth sewn onto the collar of the coat and field jacket. The Paroli were in the Egalisierungsfarbe.

Pas: A red sash worn around the middle by the Imams.

Passepoil or **Paspel**: A Paspel is a long folded piece of cloth into which a cord can be inserted. This piping was used as edging and on seams and was often in a contrasting colour to emphasise the contours and cut of a garment.

Passepoilierung: The different colours of Passepoilierung or piping in the Austro-Hungarian Army were used to distinguish the branches of service or show other differences.

Patten:Patches, often in a contrasting colour, applied to collar, sleeves or pockets.

Pforte: see Hohe Pforte

Portepée: (French port-épée = sword holder) was originally a loop strung around the grip and sidebars of the sword and around the soldier's wrist to prevent the weapon from falling down during combat. This later developed into a symbol of professional standing, particularly for officers.

Radmantel: A front-fastening cycling cape reaching to mid-calf, cut in a half or three-quarter circle, usually with armholes at the sides.

Sadschada: A 2 metre long and 1.5 metre wide prayer mat. A devout Muslim always carries one in order to uphold the purity requirements with regard to prayer.

Saffianleder: (Morocco leather) Goat leather

Salvare: Dark blue wide trousers narrowing towards the ankles, worn by Imams.

Saruk: The white turban-like wrapping around the red fez.

Tombak: (red-brass): An alloy of brass with over 70% copper, used to make (golden) insignia.

Tozluci: Thick knee socks worn locally for service in karst areas.

Tüffel: A mid-weight, rough woollen cloth in twill weave.

Vitéz-Kötes: A term from Hungary, meaning roughly 'hero's cord', which refers to the decorative round cords stitched onto the hussar uniform. Until 1918 the Hungarian infantry regiments in the k.u.k. Army and the Honvéd wore the Vitéz Kotés on the thighs of their parade trousers.

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Bosnia-Herzegovina was occupied by Austria-Hungary in 1878, annexed in 1908 and was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918. This book, **illustrated in colour**, with **352 pages** and nearly **600 photographs**, presents a picture of the Bosnian soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army and their military history under Austro-Hungarian administration. Starting with the political and military reasons for the occupation, through the annexation to the end of the First World War, it takes the reader to a world that at the time was seen as highly exotic.

The Bosniaks, who were seen as an elite group within the k.u.k. Army and who – with their strange **uniform and fez headgear** – attracted much attention from the various formations of the **Austro-Hungarian Army**, are the focus of the book. This richly **illustrated volume** also offers a detailed view of the uniforms, equipment and weaponry of the Bosniaks, from the formation of the **Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry** and Jäger troops to their first deployment in the **First World War, 1914–1918**. Finally, short biographies of numerous well-known people who served with the Bosniaks, for instance the once Austrian President, Dr Adolf Schärf, give the Old Army a face.

Feared by their enemies, respected by their comrades for their fighting spirit, the **Bosnian-Herzegovinian troops** were a reliable component of the Austro-Hungarian Army until the end of the First World War.

This book, produced in co-operation with the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Vienna, the Austrian Federal Armed Forces and the Army Museum Budapest, as well as private collectors, is also a project intended to bring together different religious and ethnic groups.

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